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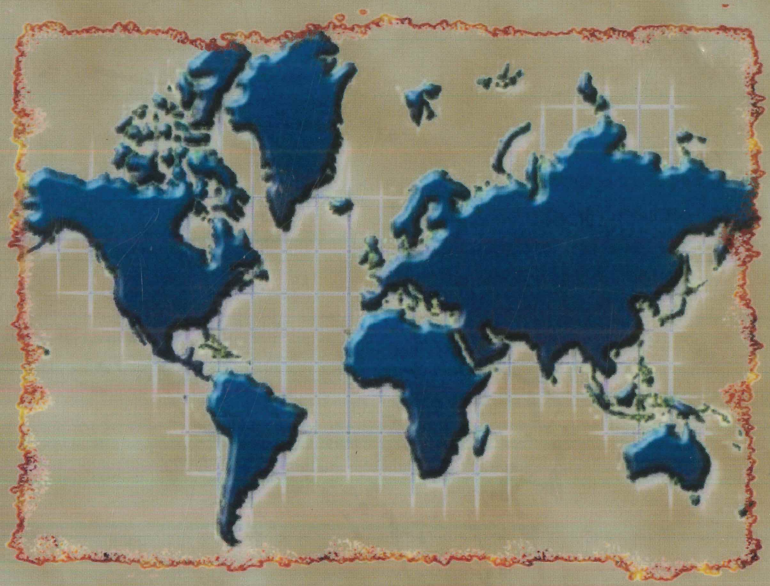
Internationalism, Pan-Africanism

And The Struggle Of Social Classes



Raw Writings from the Notebook of An Early Nineteen Seventies African-American Radical Activist

Modibo M. Kadalie, Ph.D.

One Quest Press

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DEDICATION

To those intrepid Black workers who struck at the Dodge Main Assembly plant in the spring of 1968 which lead to formation of DRUM .....may we all come to more fully comprehend the social significance of what they did.....as the DRUM continues to beat within us all...

To the courageous students that struck at Highland Park Community College and closed it down for almost a month in the Spring of 1969....may the meaning of what they did there never be forgotten....

To the valiant students at Atlanta Junior College who struck, protested, and demonstrated, against the Georgia Board of Regents Segregationist Policies from 1977 through 1979....may all of us learn that this is how history is made....let it not be lost....

.....And to the students that took over the administration building at Savannah State University in the Spring of 1996 which resulted in the establishment of the first African and African American Studies Bachelor's program within the University System of Georgia.....May the lessons that they taught us be forever understood.....as the beat goes on....and on....and on.....

FOREWORD

In some ways, the period of internecine struggle and ideological debate, which so characterized the Black liberation project in the late-1960s to the mid-1970s, seems ancient. But, in so many other ways, it was a necessary period of historical turning, as Black activists and thinkers were in search of cultural and political authenticity, and historical continuity. For those of us who were Black liberation activists too much was left undone, too many questions left unanswered, too many issues left unresolved, too many problems left unsolved, and too much analysis left to be done.

Professor Modibo M. Kadalie fills the void that has been left in attempts to analyze the Black liberation project of the late- 1960s to the mid- 1970s. Kadalie's work places the broad questions of that period into critical relief. The search here is to locate continuity between internationalism, Black power, class struggle, Black workers struggle, African liberation, and political organizing. Kadalie makes the appropriate nexus-in a Du Boisian sense-between the internationalism which shaped African liberation on the African continent and throughout the African diaspora. Not only does Kadalie present the personalities and organizations who impacted Black liberation, but he presents the ideas, ideals, ideologies, and ideations in a framework that gives the Black liberation project its historic place and presence.

I came of age during the Civil Rights Movement in my home town of Bogalusa, Louisiana in the 1960s. I came to understand racial domination as a fact of everyday life in a rigidly segregated paper mill town. I also began to comprehend the nadir of fear and acquiescence that Black people exhibited in face of violence and daily indignities. While the Civil Rights Movement was contending with de jure and de facto racial segregation, by the early 1960s, Black people in Bogalusa had not joined the struggle to end segregation and demand inclusion.

In fact, the Civil Rights Movement in Bogalusa was a dual movement. First, the Movement was organized against the caretakers of a racially segregated town, which systematically prevented Black people from public participation. The second struggle was against the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, the paper company that dominated

economic life. Racial discrimination at Crown was blatant and Black workers were relegated to the lowest paying, menial jobs.

To be sure, race and class defined the order of everyday life between Black people and whites. While the obvious symbols and instruments of racial domination were quite glaring, among Black people there stood a definable line of crass class differences between the Black masses and the teachers, preachers, and insurance men-the "Black middle class." Although there was a chapter of the NAACP, the dominant Black political organization was the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League. Prior to the Spring, 1965, the League was led by members of the Black middle class. However, when testing of civil rights compliance began, the middle class leadership admitted its fear and abdicated leadership of the (Voters) League.

Fittingly, the leadership felled to a medical clinic cook and two Crown Zellerbach workers and union organizers. The Bogalusa Movement became one of the few where the leadership was decidedly working class, and where women assumed central leadership positions. I participated in and observed the evolution of the Bogalusa Movement. I was most interested in the leadership dynamic that made that Movement militant in character and quite unlike the leadership of national civil rights organizations.

Growing up, as I did, in the midst of objective struggle for change, I came to understand the history of Black working class struggles and the tenacity of Black women to the take the lead. The Vietnam War was raging, and revolutionary Black nationalism came to shape the resistance to white vigilante violence and government complicity with racial oppression.

By the time I entered Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in the fall of 1970, my world was opened to the liberation struggles in Africa, Asia. the Caribbean, and Latin America. I came to appreciate the need to join student struggle with community struggle, and to find solidarity with international struggles. Moreover, by 1970, Black power advocacy found expression among Black soldiers in the jungles of Vietnam, the Black Panther Party of California's Bay Area, Black autoworkers in the plants of Detroit, and Black college students across the country. While de jure segregation was being confronted,

Black political and social activists were exploring new analyses, organizational formations, and programmatic strategies and tactics for emancipatory transformation and fundamental structural change.

At Southern I knew that I was obligated to continue to struggle. But I also knew that the issues would be different as a university student activist. While there, I discovered an environment of open debate and discourse. As students we were testing the latest ideas about nationalism and Marxism. I became a member of the Black Stone Society. This society was the "militant" student organization on campus. The Society was originally known as The Blackstone Society, named for the noted English jurist, William Blackstone. The society later changed its name to the Black Stone society as it was more appropriate and in keeping with our more militant stand during the early 1970s. The society was active in campus and community politics. It became note and respected for its "Campus Speak-Outs" and its weekly book review session at the Law School.

The Black Stone Society was the student organization most actively involved in support of the 1972 longshoreman protest against the importation of chromium ore from Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). I later found out that this was an event of great international significance for Black people. We also supported the New Orleans Black Panther Party, organized activities to save Black colleges and participated in the March, 1972 National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana.

Between the fall of 1970 and the Spring of 1972 every political event that took place on and off Southern's campus had the imprint of the Black Stone Society. The society acquired great respect for its work with many other student organizations and local political groups engaged in the struggle for change in the East Baton Rouge Parish.

On October 16, 1972, the Black Stone Society and the Psychology Club lead students in a class boycott to bring attention to administration negligence of the Department of Psychology. The department's chairman resigned after repeated frustrations with lack of budgetary support for the program. Psychology students revealed a history of problems with white psychology professors who regularly used racist epithets. These events became the catalyst for a major student uprising inside the Southern University system to make the

University more responsive and responsible to Black people.

A sustained month long class boycott and a series of other protest activities lead to the closure of the Southern main campus at Baton Rouge. Two students were killed by state police in front of the Administration Building on November 16, 1972. A few dozen student were injured by gun fire and tear gas. Six student leaders were charged with "obstructing and interfering with the educational process" at Southern. They were expelled and tried in state court. In January of 1973 four of the students were permanently barred from the university's campus.

I left Baton Rouge in February of 1973 and began organizing for the African Liberation Support Committee and its African Liberation Day activities in Louisiana. By June of that same year I moved to Nashville, Tennessee where I became affiliated with Peoples College, worked in local industrial plants, and began a systematic study of Marxism-Leninism.

During the time I continued to work with Peoples College and the African Liberation Support Committee, I had an opportunity to travel to Cuba in 1974. I also continued to work with the anti-imperialist student organization, the February First Movement (the student arm of the Revolutionary Workers League), and did independent worker organizing in the plants. Between 1972 and 1977, I participated in major national debates on the "two-line struggle" over which road to Black liberation — nationalism or socialism," Like many activists of that period, I became well versed in nationalist and Marxist literature and tracts.

It was in this span of time I had an opportunity to meet and to work with Professor Kadalie. We worked in the National Coordinating Committee of the International African Liberation Support Committee with one another. The African Liberation Support work and the debates that took place were a consuming part of our young activist lives. His insightful study of this period is not glorification or hero worship. It is serious, definitive, and useful scholarship that requires a rethinking of what happened between the end of the Civil Rights Movement and the struggle for Black liberation. Perhaps, the reader will conclude that the Black liberation project was too overwhelming to hold up

under the weight of a movement that had been weaken by state repression, sectarianism, and incestuous internecine debate. But such a reading would be inaccurate. As Kadalie demonstrates, the Black liberation project was concerned with ideas and strategies for emancipatory transformation. The larger efforts were to locate those ideas and strategies "in the People."

In the final analysis, Kadalie treats us to an historical survey. ***Internationalism, Pan-Africanism, and the Struggle of Social Classes*** may well become the primer for studying the Black liberation project. Kadalie has closed a critical lacuna between the 1960s and the end of the 20th century. This study requires that we look back, if we are to prevent the future from rushing to the past.

Rickey Hill, Ph.D

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book like every other commodity created within an advanced capitalist social formation was the product of the collective labor of many. It would be dishonest and careless of me to accept responsibility for the failings of others in our common effort. It would be even more dishonest and inaccurate if I were to assume credit for the labors of so many others. But I will take complete responsibility for the content and the ideas expressed within these covers even though I must remind the reader that every effort was make to reproduce these manuscripts in the form that they were originally compose circa 1976. The ideological and conceptual content contained herein represents some of my formative ideas which I would like to think have been considerably refined and developed as events have driven our time.

The ideas and notions within this volume could have been accurately called "Manuscripts from 'almost' the Bottom of the Milk Crate". It seems as though most of the, would be, writers of my generation, both female and male, have some of their work tucked away somewhere in a milk crate. These raw manuscripts quite literally are those writings for me. As such they remained unedited with every sentence fragment, dangling modifier, and subject verb disagreement, faithfully reproduced in the original. This intentional lack of regard for editorial "correctness" is wholly and totally my doing. There are, however, many innocent people who made very distinctive positive contributions and have participated in the process of the production and the resurrection of the essays that make up this work- such as they are.

Accordingly, the people who quite literally brought me to the point where I would begin to conceptualize the ideas embodied within these essays includes my mother Mrs. Neloweze W. Cooper and my father Mr. Evans B. Cooper. They met at what is now Savannah State University where I now teach. They were married in 1938, and came to the small rural coastal community of "Crossroad" near Riceboro, Georgia to begin their teaching and activist careers. It is they that

must be thanked first for providing me with splendid examples of commitment and perseverance as the struggle transitions from one generation to the next. In this context I also owe a special debt to the African American working people of East Liberty County, especially the "pulp wood men" who labored in the swamps and the woods during the late 1940s and the 1950s with their hands of stone and their biceps of steel for helping me to understand fully and most fundamentally the meaning of the concepts of "labor intensive production" and the physical "point of production". It was an enlightening and fulfilling experience to grow up among them.

In general, I would like to thank Hanes Walton for encouraging me to go back into the academy for certification-an idea which I had given up on. Mack Jones must be given special thanks for having the insight of developing a high quality Ph.D. program in political science at an African American institution of higher education (Atlanta University) based upon the political experience of African American people. One of the aims of the program was to encourage activists from the previous period of struggle to acquire academic credentials so that some of the empirical experience of the Civil Rights/ Black Power Movement could impact the discipline of political science in a meaningful way. It is hoped that future political historiographers will come to realize and acknowledge the significance of this important contribution as they begin to assess the impact of the program on future generations of social scientists. I am proud to have been a part of that program and of its continuing intellectual legacy. Without Hanes and Mack I simply would not have had the opportunity to sit down and write this compendium of my activist experience and thinking during the early and middle 1970s.

There are actually two additional separate groups of people that must be acknowledged in the actual production of the book. The first group included those who labored with primitive typewriters like the old IBM Selectric II and other various and sundry printing and copying technology which existed at the time. Their labor combined with this technology resulted in the production of the original manuscripts. The second group included those who worked in the actual production of what would become the final draft that became

this book. Needless to say, the task of those of us involved in the creation of the commodity that is this book were able to achieve a measure of control and purity undreamed of at the time when the earlier elaboration of the manuscripts took place.

From the first group who actually participated in the process of the production of the original manuscripts; I would like to thank Bernice Moore who single handedly edited and typed the section of the book on the Sixth Pan-African Congress (Chapters 7, 8, and 9). This portion of the work turned out to be what essentially became my master's thesis. Faye Bellamy applied her fantastic skill as I witnessed the incredible rapid fire staccato of her typing while simultaneously proofing what became Chapters 4 and 12. Thank you Faye for your time and positive energy.

I must also thank Nzongola-Natalaga who was an able thesis advisor even as he was experiencing great personal tragedy. The last Chapter (Chapter 13) on Angelo Herndon was edited and typed by Jackie Jennings, now known as Utamu Onaje. She did it within a single setting one afternoon. Larry Noble encouraged me to write this study in southern Black radical activism. Interestingly, he has consistently urged me to expand this essay which I have done. It was completed later but was not retrieved from the milk crate where these manuscripts languished for approximately 25 years. The earlier version is here included because it is a more accurate reflection of my thinking during the time period when the other essays that make up this volume were completed.

George Beckford was very helpful, especially in our many engaging discussions which resulted in the Chapters 1 and 2 relative to "the Rise and Fall of White Internationalism." Beckford also made a substantial contribution to the work contained in Chapter 12 on "the Bauxite Politics of the Caribbean". A posthumous salute goes out to my friends and comrades "G Beck" and to "Walter" Rodney. Walter gave a critical reading to my work on the "Tiaping and the White Lotus Rebellions" which is the subject of Chapter 11. We also sparred intellectually on the specifics contained within Chapter 10 on Brazilian slavery. These exchanges are warmly remembered. Utamu

also proofed and typed those sections as they stand and are herein reproduced.

It will become obvious to any reader that Walter walks throughout the length and breath of these manuscripts and so does "C.L.R." James. I owe most of my conceptual groundings to these giant intellectuals along with "W.E.B." Dubois. They are my constant intellectual companions. Though I never met Dubois, I knew and had many exchanges with "C.L.R." and Walter. These personal interactions as well as their written work have contributed immeasurably to my political development.

Chapters 3 and 4 were first published as an African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) pamphlet entitled *A Class Analysis for African Nationalists and The African Liberation Support Committee-Two Essays,* which sold for an unimaginable .25 cents each at the African Liberation Support Conference May 23rd and 24th at Howard University in Washington, D.C. just prior to African Liberation Day(ALD) 1974. My thanks to Kimathi Mohammad for producing a well worn copy of this forgotten publication from his own milk crate during a visit to his home in Savannah in the spring of 1998. My thanks to the intrepid cadre of the Atlanta and Detroit ALSCs who sold out of the pamphlet during the first few hours of the conference. The proceeds from this almost instantaneous sale went to the African Liberation efforts in Southern Africa.

The original manuscripts which were first printed circa 1976 had physically decomposed to the point that no good hard copies could be generated by scanning, consequently they had to be word processed in their entirety using more recently developed technology. This was indeed a time consuming chore.

Perhaps the person most directly responsible for the publication along with the sequencing of the Chapters is my student Daryl Simmons. Daryl was one of the student activists that participated in the successful two week takeover of the administration building at Savannah State University in the spring of 1996 which resulted in the resignation of the President of the University and the creation of the first African and African American Studies major program at any institution within the University System of Georgia. It was his

persistent and unrelenting questioning about the years of activism reflected within these essays, herein offered, as valid descriptive history with some limited analysis that sent me to "the milk crate" to retrieve this material. As Daryl began to read the manuscripts that would become the material presented in Part I, his questions increased and became more refined and intense.

After reproducing copies for himself, he did a strange thing. Though he possessed very limited word processing skills he actually began to try to put the manuscript on diskettes using a primitive "hunt and pick" method. A teachable moment had presented itself. During the summer of 1997, needless to say, we worked on increasing Daryl's word processing accuracy, efficiency and speed. This happened throughout his consistent work on the manuscripts. It continues even now.

In addition to Daryl, I remain grateful, in the actually production of the book, to the following people who to one degree or another participated in the word processing task: Cathy Baker, "my hommie" from Liberty County, Melanie Jenkins, one of my student assistants, Vernon Jones, a student volunteer who often came by my office to help, Rosalind Kent, a colleague and good friend and Sandra Brady, Rosalind's sister and now a student at SSU.

My daughter Akilah collated the first draft using some system which to this day remains a mystery to me. Nevertheless, she got the job done manually.

Some of the documents were scannable. My thanks to Jennifer Battle, Larrice Cobb and James Scott, all extremely capable members of the SSU staff, for their assistance with the preparation of many of the documents that make up the extensive expanded appendix section.

Many of my colleagues proofed the body of the volume. In this regard I would like to especially thank Nana Cordelia Kirk who not only went through the old manuscripts but gave encouragement and support to the effort as a whole.

I also owe an undying debt of gratitude to the members of my political science and African American Studies classes at Savannah State who were able to identify the numerous typos within the draft that they reviewed. Shaka Zulu was especially diligent in this regard.

It was Daryl and Shaka along with members of these classes that are responsible for the sequential organization of the sections and Chapters. They wanted it to be presented in this manner.

Lyndria Cheeves, a former student, proofread the preliminary appendix section and encouraged me to expand it. In this connection I wish to express my appreciation to Fanon Wilkins, a Ph.D. candidate at New York University who reviewed the second draft and validated the intention of the project with his encouragement. It is to the generation represented by Shaka, Daryl, Fanon, and Lyndria that this scholarly weapon is offered. It includes the expanded appendix section that they independently requested.

In the final production of camera ready copy I am indebted to Regina Rawls and especially to Toisaun Denson of the SSU staff for bringing the project to closure. Jennifer Battle and Toisaun Denson collaborated in the creation of the cover. Johnny Johnson of the SSU Print shop was indispensable. As a master printer his suggestions, skill, and patience contributed greatly to this overall effort.

I would like to acknowledge the very special contribution of Drs. Cora Christian and Simon Jones-Hendrickson for capturing a special moment, during their warmly remembered visit to Savannah, through the eyes of their camera which is recorded in the personal photograph seen on the cover of this volume.

These are the acknowledged contributors whose labor, in various ways, combined in the production of this volume. To the extent that my participation in our common effort was such a fulfilling experience, I have developed a especially warm and lasting bond with all who shared in the work of this project. As much as possible I have attempted to remember the role that we each played. Many others whose names do not appear here also participated. I will be forever grateful to them also even though their specific role or responsibility has not been listed.

As for the appendix which contains some 40 documents. All of them were published, to one degree or another, in the public press for public consumption and debate. They are therefore considered to be public documents beyond the reach of private copyright laws. Their

publication here, nevertheless, should in no way be considered as a violation of anyone's property or privacy rights. Most of them came directly from my personal files. They are not, however, my personal property. Hence, I would encourage researchers to avail themselves of the documents listed within the appendices. If they are seen here for the first time by the reseacher and consequently cited please acknowledge the primary source and this volume.

Of course, I alone bear the responsibility for the factual errors and errors relative to any misunderstanding and/or misinterpretations contained within the statements between the covers of this work. Again, the reader is reminded that the ideological content and orientation originated from this author at an earlier stage within his intellectual development.

Modibo M. Kadalie -August, 2000

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	American Anti-Slavery Society
ALD	African Liberation Day
ALSC	The International African Liberation Support Committee
ANC	The African National Congress (South Africa)
ASCRIA	African Society for Cultural Relations withIndependent Africa (Guyana)
BPP	Black Panther Party (USA)
BSUF	Black Student United Front (LRBW component)
BWC	Black Workers Congress (USA)
CADRUM	Cadillac Revolutionary Union Movement (LRBW component)
CAP	Congress of African People (USA)
C.A.R.I.F.T.A.	Caribbean Free Trade Area
CBE	Center for Black Education (USA)
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CGT	Confederation Generale du Travail
CIO	Congress of Industrial Organizations
Comintern	The Third International
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CS	Central Staff of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers
CUC	The Caribbean Unity Conference
DRUM	The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (LRBW component)
EB	Executive Board of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers
ELRUM	Eldon Gear and Axle Revolutionary Union Movement (LRBW component)
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
FRUM	Ford Revolutionary Union Movement (LRBW component)
GUYBAU	Guyana Bauxite Company
IBA	The International Bauxite Association
IBA	International Black Appeal (USA)
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Union (South Africa)
ITAC	Independent Trade Union Advisory Council (Jamaica)
IWA	International Workingmen's Association (The First International)

IWW	The International Workers of the World
JRUM	Jefferson Revolutionary Union Movement (LRBW component)
KMT	Kuomingtang (China)
MARUM	Mack Revolutionary Union Movement (LRBW component)
LRBW	League of Revolutionary Black Workers (USA)
MNC	Multi-National Corporations
MPLA	The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MXLU	Malcolm X Liberation University (USA)
NARS	North American Regional Secretiat
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBM	New Beginnning Movement (Trindad)
NCM	Negro Convention Movement (USA)
NEWRUM	Detroit News Revolutionary Union Movement (LRBW component)
NJAC	National Joint Action Committee (Trinidad)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OWTU	Oil Workers Trade Union (Trinidad)
PACST	Pan African Center for Science and Technology
PAC	Peoples Action Committee (LRBW component)
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress (South Africa)
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress (U.S.A.)
PAIGC	Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde: The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PNC	People National Congress (Guyana)
PNP	Peoples National Party (Jamaica)
PNM	People National Movement (Trinidad)
PPP	The People's Progressive Party (Guyana)
PRP	Parti de la Revolution Populaire
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference (USA)
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SI	The Second International
Sixth-PAC	The Sixth Pan African Congress
SNCC	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (USA)
SOBU	Student Organization for Black Unity (USA)
SWAPO	South West African People's Organization
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union

UAW	United Auto Workers
UNITA	The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UPRUM	United Parcel Revolutionary Union Movement (LRBW component)
UN	United Nations
UNICOM	United Communities (LRBW component)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WLL	Workers' Liberation League (Jamaica)
WL	White Left
WPA	Working People's Alliance (Guyana)
YOBU	Youth Organization for Black Unity (USA)
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This volume is designed to be a scholarly research weapon for the next generation of activist radical thinkers. Like any manual weapon its lethal effectiveness depends upon the unique skill of the modern warriors/political activist scholars wheeling it. Weapons improve and become more effective as they are tested in battle. Hopefully, these essays will add to the empirical information from a particular moment in time when a generation of activists faced off against the International Capitalist System (ICS). Like any conspicuous and sharp struggle within a specific historical moment the combatants inevitably must test each other. As can be seen from these essays and the appendices that follow, we did not lack courage or enthusiasm for battle. We were, however, limited as all struggles are, by contextual historical circumstance. This put very serious constraints upon the development of both our theory and practice. The next generation of warriors/ political activist scholars have to study the old weapons and more importantly the context in which these weapons were used in order to fashion more effective ones for their own purpose. The empirical information that follows is offered as part of the raw material from which these new politically radical scholarly weapons will be fashioned in the crucible of the continuing social struggle. It is hoped that these essays and this information is of some use.

There are essentially two distinctive sources of empirical information that are found within the volume. The first is a series of essays by the author written during the early and middle 1970's. These essays were written from my perspective as an activist intimately involved within the leadership of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW), the International African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), and the Sixth Pan African Congress (Sixth PAC) during most, if not all of the time that these organizations existed. In the LRBW I was a member of the Central Staff and Chair of the Peoples' Action Committee which was a local community organization in Highland Park, Michigan and a component of the LRBW. I served on the Central staff as a representative of this local community organization from early 1969 to April of 1970. In the ALSC, I was a member of the founding National Steering Committee. First as a

representative of the Detroit local committee which I chaired from 1972 to 1973 and remained on the expanded International Steering Committee as a representative of the Atlanta local committee from 1973 to 1975. Within the Sixth PAC, I was chair of the Southern Regional Organizing Committee from 1974 to 1975, a member of the North American Delegation, and also a member of the North American Left Revolutionary Pan-African Caucus.

The essays that appear within the covers of this volume are, therefore, derived from a primary source and represent what is essentially the subjective perceptions of an engaged participant observer.

The second source, which is more directly primary, is an extensive appended series of relevant defining documents from the independent Pan-African movement in the form of both official recorded declarations of governing institutional mechanisms and the record of groups and individuals in struggle. Both sources are validated through the struggle for social change. What makes them worthy of consideration as the basis for valid radical scholarship is that they did not originate from within the detached minds of socially inert and detached armchair philosophers.

The period of struggle from the late 1960s to the middle 1970s has become historiographically problematical for several reasons: 1) much of the overwhelming preponderance of the writing is biographical and/or autobiographical, 2) the source material tends to be from official print and electronic media, and 3) the description itself seems to be becoming self perpetuating, limited and redundant. These are problems that accurate historiographic research has to be acutely aware of at all times so that they can be overcome.

The problem of biographical and autobiographical writing is in itself not problematic. But when the overwhelming preponderance of historical description and/or data from a given period is biographical and autobiographical there is a tendency for the great person or search for a super hero syndrome to emerge. Using this kind of source material alone begins to interfere with the possibility of valid analysis and trivializes any meaningful historical endeavor that may generate valid

social theory.

The use of official sources alone again contributes to historiographic inaccuracy. That is why the central struggle organizations that are the subject of Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of this volume are almost unheard of. Because the more sensational, the more well connected, the more palatable, or the organizations which represents the greater possibility for co-optation become those that are the most significant for official historiographic study and journalistic record keeping. And so the capitalist rulers of America have chosen William L. Garrison, and Fredrick Douglass, and have relegated David Walker, Harriet Tubman, Henry Highland Garnett, and Martin Delaney, to historical footnotes, even as they search for great individual contributors to the development of the abolitionist movement. Significant analysis seldom rises above the neo-liberal search for individual makers of history. In the rare instance when it might, the analysis begins to view the contributions of elite groups of individuals. Thus, the struggle of American labor is historically conceptualized as a chronicle of the development of the labor bureaucracy composed of elitist, racist, and sexist labor organizations while the pivotal significance of the self organization of African slaves in the "Underground Railroad" is not even mentioned let alone comprehended. Even now the individual significance of Martin L. King is consistently overemphasized within the context of the civil rights/Black power movement. This type of emphasis is an effective negation of the critical and defining significance of the self organization of the masses of African American working people in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, in the sit-ins, in the many specific actions of the massive urban rebellions, and in the Dodge Main strike. The self organization and social creativity of the working class in social motion such as this should be and will become the valid object of systematic study for activist scholars in the next generation.

If primary source material is not brought forth about the League of Revolutionary Black Worker, the African Liberation Support Committee, and the Sixth PAC, the rich lessons learned from this period of struggle will remain obscure. One generation of radical activist thinkers would be effectively cut off from the next. Even now radical

scholarship about the late 1960s and early 1970s has been limited almost exclusively to biographical treatments of various significant members of the Black Panther Party. Many of the texts overlook the critical lack of democracy within the organization and borders upon personal veneration. Similarly, the lobbying efforts of Trans Africa seems to run the risk of being represented as the extent of African liberation support work within the African diasporan community. Again this limited emphasis is inadequate and yields inaccurate interpretations. Even when scholars begin to study the Pan African movement as a political movement, which is what it is, they make the mistake of confining their investigation after the 1945 Manchester Congress to the problems and limitations of the OAU. The Sixth PAC and it many pronouncements concerning the critical importance of the class struggle are not seriously considered.

When scholarly research is limited in these ways the builders of the images of the popular culture (from the period) perpetuate this circumscribed conceptualization based upon official sources as they search for individual makers of history as "role models," while inadequate and inaccurate description becomes the credible basis for the perpetuation of sensationalized fantasy which has been made to be, and therefore becomes, believable.

Certainly one of the most basic continuing problems that plague radical activist scholarship is its fundamental capitalist class orientation. This has resulted in the imprisonment of radical scholarship, in general, within the narrow confines of neo-liberal ideological doctrine. The problem is compounded by a more serious and more specific difficulty which is to be found in the fact that very little primary material exists to fill a gapping void of empirical information researched and presented focusing upon the self movement and self organization of the African American sector of the international working class. This perspective is fertile ground for valid historiographic research. The essays and the documents that follow are an attempt to begin the necessary process of filling this problematic empirical vacuum.

I. Organization of Essays

The organization of the essays contained herein can be approached in many different ways depending upon the long term strategic inclination or the more immediate tactical choices of the activist thinker. None of the essays are dependent upon one another in the sense that the information or the analysis in any single one is a prerequisite to the comprehension of another except in Chapters 7, 8, and 9. They must be read in sequence. The writer would suggest that the reader considers the material contained within each section in sequence after reading this general introduction. Specific introductions to each section are also contained within this general introduction. Each specific introduction involves an assessment of the development and maturation in the concepts and ideas presented within the essays by the author. This assessment takes place in light of my more current thinking with regard to certain of these critical issues.

Accordingly, if the reader is interested in the failures of the white left internationally and the emergence of the Pan-African movement from the social democratic tendency within the internationalism of capitalism, the reader should read the introduction to Part I and go to Chapters 1, and 2. If the reader is most concerned with the use of the class analysis as a tool of activism and the rise of Black Power within the U.S. and the Caribbean, it is suggested that the introduction to Part II and Chapters 3, and 4 should be looked at first. If however, the reader is interested in the radical movement organizations themselves which is the most essential part of the overall effort, it is suggested that the introduction to Part III is read first then go straight to Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. But if the researcher is preoccupied with my fumbling attempts at a critical conceptualization of the International Capitalist System, it is suggested that a serious reading of the introduction to Part IV might be undertaken first. After which, Chapters 10, 11, 12, and 13 may be considered. Were I to proceed with a reading sequence, I would read Part IV first, but it was my students that sequenced the order of presentation. Perhaps what they had in mind might be a way of effectively proceeding. In any event, the sequence of exposition will follow their suggestion.

Before proceeding directly to the introduction of the section of your chose, the reader should be aware of some acknowledged abiding general weaknesses and ambiguities that pervade many of these essays. Hopefully and thankfully, activist scholarship has learned more and developed further in its overall analytical capability since the time of the writing of these essays herein presented; the reader should be mindful of the fact that they are contextually circumscribed by the activism of a previous period.

Our basic difficulty as activists arose from essentially two crucially interrelated conceptual failures. The first was an inadequate conceptualization of the fundamental nature, scope, and the periodicity of the basic changing relations of production operating at the level of the economic base of the International Capitalist System (ICS). The second was our limited understanding of the nature, scope, and periodicity of the dynamic ideological and institutional relations as they were being defined by the base within the superstructure of the developing ICS. In other words, we simply did not fully appreciate the enormous complexity of the multi-level dynamic historical social matrices that defined the ICS as an evolving global totality. The general inadequacy containing both errors is reflected within these essays. But the beginnings of a more developed and clearer conceptualization of these questions are also to be found within them.

Limited in this way, some of the writing of the period in question were consequently trapped into an ahistorical conceptualization of capitalist institutional relations. Many activists of the time therefore, conceived the nation state and the political party as valid social mechanisms for liberation. Even though they were alienated by capitalism, they could not conceptually break with certain fundamental capitalist institutional relations. Consequently, a clear conceptualization of what "socialism" is could and did not emerge.

This is not just a limitation of the activist thinkers during the late 1960s and early 1970s, but has remained a serious and continuing problem that had plagued radicals from the time of the praxis that yielded the classical critical literature.

II. Failure to Adequately Conceptualize the Scope and Nature of the International Capitalist System

The rapid spread and the self development of the ICS bedazzled us. It is shocking to behold as it sucked up and refashioned previous modes of social existence to fit its own designs. The way it transformed slave labor, bonded labor, sharecropper or peon labor, into wage labor has been misunderstood with respect to its periodicity. Aspects of this dynamic evolution left many, would be theorists, confused and bewildered. This allowed all manner of half baked ideological speculation to masquerade as theory.

The classical critical social scientific literature, referred to by most as "Marxist", conceived of capitalist production relations as first taking shape within the context of Europe. The assumption was that capitalism began in Europe. Many of us writing in the 1970s accepted this as an accurate and valid forgone conclusion. We then asked the next question: Why did capitalism begin in Europe? Why not Asia? Or, more specifically, why not China? So we begin to look for reasons, as Marx did, for its origins in Europe. This is the point of departure for several of the essays within this volume, particularly in Part IV.

This question was simply formulated metaphysically. It has to be reformulated. From my point of view during the present period, the empirical information derived from an indepth analysis of the significance of the slave trade and the trade in slave produced commodities guides us to the conclusion that capitalism did *not* begin in Europe. It finds its origin within the development of a complex system of production and exchange relations taking place within and between the four continents of the *Atlantic basin* at its core. This system came to be essentially organized politically from Europe for the benefit and development of Europe. The positive dynamics of increasing production and the widening scope and complexity of the exchange occurring within this international system taken as a unified totality, that favored the nation states of Europe. Indeed, it was the dynamism of the production and exchange relations of this international system that was responsible for the creation and the transformation of these states in the first instance. Thus, the pre industrial social formations primarily of the *Atlantic rim* were drawn

into the unequal system of production and exchange that came to be known as the ICS.

Within the pre industrial phase of the ICS the quintessential core of the international labor force was the new world African slave. The slave did not earn a wage and was, therefore, misrepresented as a "pre-capitalist" labor force. This labor force was a "pre-industrial" capitalist labor force not a "pre-capitalist" labor force. This mistake is to be found within these pages. It is, unfortunately, still common among contemporary analysts. We can now definitively assert, by way of the extension of the work of Walter Rodney and C.L.R. James that new world African slaves were a pre-industrial international proletarian labor force since the ICS never was simply a national system. The various forms of the nation state was simply the way in which the ICS appeared within the certain specific geo-political regions of the system taken as a totality.

Because the term "proletarian" was used within the literature to refer to wage labor as it emerged in Europe after the industrial revolution a very narrow definition of the term help to perpetuate this misconception. "The proletariat" simply became "the industrial proletariat" and there was no "pre-industrial proletarian" capitalist labor force in the classical literature. The observations of Karl Marx himself, was limited in this way. The Europe Marx knew and observed was in the throws of the industrial revolution. He never saw a plantation or a slave. Nor did he, or could he, have comprehended the full implications of the long pre-industrial history of the new world plantation. This being the case, it is unreasonable to expect that he could have appreciated the scope or the complexity of the linkages that existed within the pre-industrial ICS. Therefore, it is very easy to see why the self movement of slave labor was perceived as outside of the domain of the "labor movement" or "labor organization" for the writers of "labor" history. The significance of the Haitian Revolution was missed for this reason.

The system of racist ideological and institutional relations at the level of the international superstructure was likewise underconceptualized. That is to say, the full implications of the ideologico-political superstructure of the ICS were not adequately

conceptualized. For example, the various policies and practices of the European states nor the very sharp and frequent bloody conflicts between them were not conceptualized from the point of view of the emerging totality of the ICS. These conflicting policies and practices which frequently resulted in bloody and destructive wars are often analyzed as phenomenon taking place because of this or that national interest alone. The self perpetuation of the ICS is not sufficiently considered. The fact that the dynamic shifting configuration of these states and these social formations essentially functioned to expropriate surplus value from an internationally arrayed labor force is seldom central in any analytical treatment. As the basic relations of production that defined the system moved from its pre-industrial beginnings based upon a slave plantation system outside of Europe through the industrial revolution which took place inside Europe, the connection between the development of Europe and the underdevelopment of the rest of the system was not made. Therefore, while almost all attention was focused upon Europe because of the dramatic transformation that was taking place within that specific region of the ICS the study of the system taken as an integrated totality suffered. Meanwhile the system expanded and remained an internationally integrated totality both at the level of a base defined by the CMP and at the level of the superstructure determining and maintaining capitalist relations of production again at the base as the integrated system itself was becoming ever more global in scope.

Along this same line, various regions within the system, if they are included at all within any analysis, are studied in isolation from other regions. As part of the same intellectual dismemberment, even aspects of the base or the superstructure are studied in isolation from each other. For a long time only European history, culture, or government, limited as it is, was taught in schools isolated from even its own aspects. But the creation of the industrial revolution was put forward as an example of the superior motivation and intellectuality of the people of Europe. That comes forward clearly as a unified theme. On the other hand, the study of Africa only recently has taken place at all in any of its dimensions. So there is European history, civilization, and government; American history, civilization, and government; and now,

at last, African history, culture, and government. This is all the same history with variation within the culture and phases and shifts within the institutional superstructure. It is the history of the International Capitalist System-base and superstructure. It only manifests itself within the European context in a certain way, in the Americas in a certain way, and within Africa in a certain way.

This conceptualization of the exaggerated significance of Europe and the European industrial proletariat has had dire consequences within the radical movement as it has attempted to become conscious of itself for the better part of the entire twentieth century. Perhaps the greatest limitation placed upon certain genuine attempts at revolutionary social change has been the failure to see the development of the quest for the self-emancipation of labor in praxis beyond the confines of nationalism and the nation state. In other words, we are not able to visualize socialism beyond the institutional mechanisms of ICS. Most particularly, we must develop the intellectual capacity to see beyond representative governments and their instrumentalities; republics in their various forms; and nation states. We have to look to forms of direct democracy emanating from points of international and transnational social reproduction. It is from these points of social reproduction that a new system will arise and sustain itself. This system will allow the international producers of the world's wealth to maintain and control it as a new social order emerges and takes shape. Hence, a reconceptualization of race, the nation state and socialism is in order. In the 1960s and 1970s our understanding of these critical aspects of social movement were shamefully inadequate.

III. Simplistic Conceptions of Race, the Nation State, and Socialism

The twentieth century was the century of nationalism. At the beginning of the century the prevailing conception of a nation was a historically homogeneous group of people with a common ethnicity or racial identity. The nation state simply represented the highest form of the institutional empowerment of this group. Thus, the attainment of a nation state came to be a measure of the success of human social endeavor. In that sense, Dubois was accurate in defining the twentieth

century as the century in which the most essential challenge to human social thought was race.

The twenty first century will be the century of internationalism. A century in which national boundaries and the nation state itself will come to be regarded *not* as a definer of human social striving but as an obstacle to it. Thus, the principle challenge to human social advancement, the nation state, will have to be superseded in order for human social progress to continue in its quest for new and higher forms of institutional expression.

The radical Black movement during the time period under consideration did not fully grasp the dynamic complexity and the intricacy of race as a critical aspect of the superstructure of the emerging ICS. Our understanding of race as a general phenomenon was reductionist and cast within the context of a bourgeois liberal ideological and institutional framework. Our difficulty arouse from essentially two crucial interrelated conceptual failures. The first was our conception of the nation state as an institutional mechanism for liberation. The second was a flawed understanding of the fundamental nature and general character of the ICS itself. Both errors, again, run throughout each of these essays. But from these conceptual beginnings has come the outline and the first tentative steps toward a more developed and clearer conceptualization of the origin and nature of the ICS. Again, our intellectual task and, indeed, our intellectual responsibility is to accurately reconceptualize the ICS in all its essential interrelated dynamic dimensions.

The clear lessons of the anti colonial movement were beginning to impact activists on the ground in rural Mississippi and other southern states during the middle 1960s when the inadequacy of non-violence as a dogmatic ideological principle was becoming evident. As they were struggling within the rural African American population for electoral empowerment they were beginning to read the works of Franz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Mao Tse Tung, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Ho Chi Min and other activists from the capitalist periphery whose image had reached heroic proportions in some circles. They were also impacted by the clear and direct speeches of Malcolm X and the writings of Robert Williams from exile on this pointed issue.

But Fanon had particular appeal because he was Black and spoke most directly to the problem of Black alienation in a white world. Fanon advanced the idea that violence in the face of colonial oppression was itself a liberating social act. For him continued submission to colonial rule was insanity. Malcolm X through his straight forward and fiery oratory and Robert Williams, who reported his direct experience in North Carolina with the Freedom Riders, echoed and affirmed this fundamental conclusion which was validated within the social experience of the student activists in both the Congress of Racial Equality(CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee(SNCC).

Although the general ideological approach taken by Fanon was essentially neo-liberal existentialism, his appeal and message resonated among these young militants. He and the activists within the "third world" clearly saw the creation of nation states within the capitalist periphery as offering the possibility of liberation for the oppressed masses particularly on the African continent. Malcolm X not only articulated this optimistic viewpoint but began a secular effort around this theme when he was untimely cut down by an assassin's bullet.

So complete was the identification with the analysis of thinkers like Fanon from the capitalist periphery that the conceptualization of the situation of "Africans in Amerikka" was that of an internal colony. This view was widely held and reflected the deep subjective alienation that many felt. It was their feeling that Africans in America need their own nation state in order to be "liberated". But feelings are not analysis. Consequently, an independent analysis of the dynamically developing complex relations within a multi level social formation which included African American people, as a central object of study, was lacking.

The institutionalized nation state was not viewed as epic specific to capitalism. It was not viewed as historically determined and therefore limited by its role as a maintainer of very specific class relations of dominance. The nation state as a territorially integrated free trade zone ruled by a capitalist class was seldom articulated. What came forward was a modified Garveyist desire for a type of Black Zionist sovereignty as part of the anti colonial struggle within Africa, the Caribbean, and within North America.

There were other difficulties that activists of the period had relative to the development of an adequate, accurate, and useful conceptualization of the state. Among them was the specific problem of the dangers of having a purely instrumentalist notion of the state as a class "tool". Since this difficulty is concerned with the misuse of "hegemony" as a concept throughout these essays the discussion of this problem will be taken up later in another section of this introduction.

i. Reductionist Conceptions of "Black Nationalism" In the United States

Without the fundamental historical understanding of the nation state as epoch specific to the CMP many of the activists became "Nationalists" and the anti racist struggle became a struggle for "national liberation" on the African continent, within the Caribbean, and also within North America. The struggle within the United States for "Nationhood" meant many difference things to many different activist tendencies. But the basic point of agreement within them all was that Black people must organize themselves independently of the white left and white people, in general. The classical white left, represented most actively by the American Communist Party, had articulated this position from the 1920s and had even advocated and outlined the borders of a "Black Nation" within the "Black belt South". This position was taken up by the "Republic of New Africa" during the late 1960s and early 1970s and by many other activist groups to a greater or lesser extent.

But within broader Black activist circles the call for "Nation time" simply meant a general call for "Black Unity" and independent Black organization. This reductionist sloganeering posed a dilemma for strategists and ideologues alike, since this call for nationhood within the context of North America, at best, represented a mere tactical sentiment. The failure to comprehend these sentiments as nothing more than the crude beginnings of an approach to an understanding of an extremely complex array of racial and gender phenomenon rooted within an historically developing yet hidden class struggle proved to be a dead end for the projection of any serious long-term vision.

The principle of the independent organization of African people within the context of North America to effectively address the obvious problem of race was clear to most of us then. But much of the dynamic complex matrix of social relations within which race was articulated was not clear to activists then or, for that matter, now.

It has become obvious to me as I look back, that what C.L.R. James calls The "Independent Black Movement" is a movement of the African American quintessential core of the emerging American sector of the international working classes. What we were witnessing then was the tail end of one of the most rapid and massive shift of labor to take place within any social formation. Its manifestation was the dramatic urbanization of literally millions of African American laborers. This massive and abrupt social dislocation and realignment was part of the social reality of our young lives and revealed itself in the form of some ideological disorientation. But to a very real extent, this movement within the boundaries of the United States was also a part of a restructuring of the ICS that been had and was taking place during that period. Capital intensive production within the agricultural sector of the economy was allowing urbanization to be achieved on an unprecedented scale within the United States and this and other developments were affecting this process on a global scale.

This new urbanization required racial solidarity in the face of all manner of institutional racism from the previous segregationist period which had to be systematically overcome. Therefore, the acknowledgment of the existence of distinctive classes among African American people was perceived as a negative influence in the drive to achieve the desired goal of "Black unity" that the "nation time" sloganeering seem to advocate. Africans on the continent were pointing the way as one "independent" nation after another was being proclaimed. But with the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the destabilization of the government of Kwame Nkrumah the specter of imperialist design was beginning to become more and more apparent. This along with the intensifying struggle against international capitalism as it attempted to maintain its support

for the racist and colonialist regimes in southern Africa raised the stakes in the cold war. Since "communist bloc" countries were coming to the aid of the southern African Liberation Struggles; rhetoric about the attainment of "socialism" within the context of the struggle for national liberation i.e. by the establishment of "socialist republics" in Africa appealed to radical African Americans.

The debate between "nationalists" and "revolutionary nationalists" was, therefore, rooted in a serious attempt to put into perspective the role of the nation state in the process of human liberation. It is essential to note that traditional civil rights organizations were not part of this debate because they were wedded to neo-liberal ideology (welfare liberalism) in its most obvious form, and were condemned and dismissed as "integrationist". The radicals were alienated by capitalism and were desperately seeking some form of independent action. In so doing they unwillingly resorted to the most capitalist of capitalist political manifestations. They turned to the institutional relations of the nation state. To them, that was the ultimate goal of "Black Power". They therefore, were unable, conceptually, to go beyond the parameters of capitalism. They remained trapped within a Garveyist conception of "Black Liberation."

But the prevailing conceptualization of a "nation" was the classical definition. It involved the determination of a nation as a group of "people" (not institutional relations) that shared a common history and a distinctive culture reflected in a common language. In short, an ethnically based metaphysical definition. With parameters such as these "classical nationalist" sentiments are reducible to feelings of ethnic solidarity and an attachment to a specific geo-spatial locality. In essence, one of the central ingredients of "nationalism" was an ethnically based feeling of attachment to an identifiable "homeland". These essentially "cultural nationalist" sentiments and feelings of the times were shown to be compatible since they were rooted within a cultural commonality. Joseph Stalin defined it in this way. It is also interesting to note that the "homeland" policies of the South African Apartheid regime was also based upon this racist and reactionary conceptualization.

As classical liberalism faded and neo liberalism emerged a slightly different conception of the state and "nationalism" began to take shape. The previous ethnic based conception was displaced in favor of a multi ethnic state and nation. This is the prevailing dispensation in the present period.

These feelings of "Black Nationalism" can now to be co-opted at the ideological level as neo-liberal ideology began to express itself as pluralism, "multi culturalism" and "cultural diversity". The new racial tolerance within "one America" has become their mantra. You can be both "African" and "American" too. Hence the official designation of Black people as "African Americas". The pluralist state was offered up as having the capacity to mediate and resolve all of the racial conflict within the society. It could now educate the racists and teach them to change their attitudes toward "African Americans, women, and other minority groups." Racism is now seen as an undesirable "state of mind." The institutional relations that define it were effectively covered up. A new racially tolerant open society was thus officially proclaimed.

The LRBW was very different from the cultural nationalists or any of the nationalists of the "Black Power" period. It defined "Black Power" as "Black Workers' Power". We cast the "race question" in class terms. In so doing we asserted that race conflict was part of a more fundamental class conflict and as such the state could not reconcile this conflict because it (the state) was a class "instrument" in the hands of the capitalists. We therefore, concluded that the problem of racial oppression could not be resolved within the context of capitalist social relations of production. Our conception of the state allowed us to escape the immediate co-optational threat posed by neo-liberal ideology at this point within the debate. However, as progressive as the leadership of the LRBW was, it could not escape the beguiling influence of the nation state as a useful concept for-not ethnic or racial liberation- but class liberation.

Simply put, the leadership of the LRBW saw the nation state as the broad realization of "Black Workers' Power." In a sense, while they did escape neo liberal ideology but fell prey to social democratic ideology. Hence they too were unable to extend their vision beyond the essentially epic specific nation state conceived as a useful context

within which black workers, as part of a broadly conceived American proletariat, could be liberated. The dominant vision within the LRBW seemed to be a radical trade union political take over of institutions of representative democracy. In any case there was no official statements within the organization's documentation which indicated that the conceptualization of direct rule of workers as a class from the points of production within an internationally conceived social formation was held by any tendency. There were, however, some limited attempts to go further than mere social democracy within the LRBW. This took the form of debates within the Central Staff and the membership concerning the significance of the role of the Point of Production in LRBW organizational efforts. Again, this debate and these discussions never made their way into the official primary records of the organization.

It is instructive to comparatively position the Black Panther Party for Self Defense within this debate. The "Ten Point Program" of the BPP (Appendix B-6) as it developed into the document published in 1969 expressly stated that Black people were an "internal colony" that had the right of self determination. The establishment of an internal nation state, if that were "the will of the Black people" was clearly seen by the leadership of the BPP in 1969 as a positive step toward liberation. But by 1972 with the advocacy of a network of interrelated communities throughout the world with the Black "community" in the United States as an important component, the conception of an internal colony was somewhat modified. While this new conceptualization on the part of the leadership of the BPP in 1972 seemed somewhat whimsical, it did represent a perception that the nation state as a useful set of institutional relations was problematic. The advocacy of the creation of a non class lumpen proletarian vanguard party some years earlier had posed the question of: What kind of society would be created by the "class" rule of a lumpen proletariat? It was at this point in the debate that certain vague notions of a network of "intercommunal communities" emerged.

ii. Simplistic Conceptions of Socialism Within the Capitalist Periphery

It is clear that the independent African American labor movement was taking its cues from the progressive anti colonial movement within the capitalist periphery. Within those regions the nations state was commonly viewed as not only the vehicle for liberation but it was viewed as the political form within which "socialism" would take place. This assumption gave rise to several related questions. What does "socialism" look like? What are its defining characteristics? What is the essential nature of the Soviet state? These questions were answered in many different ways by different activists. Many simply believed that the Soviet Union was the prototype of "socialist societies" to come. In this debate the present author did not believe that the Soviet Union was a social formation defined by socialist production relations. Even during that time I believed that the Soviet Union was "state capitalist". I still hold that view with several refinements: 1) "State capitalism" is essentially the designation of a form of social democracy where the state directly owns and controls a dominate share of the most essential means of production. 2) Social democracy is an ideological concept that defines the dominant view within a capitalist social formation which relies upon nationalization of substantial economic assets as the principal strategy of providing social services to workers. Within social formations of this type trade unions play a political dominate role. And 3) state capitalism is an extreme form of social democracy which make nations pursuing this economic development strategy-which might be effective in the short term- vulnerable to the economic crises that plague capitalism in general-in the long term. The economic crisis taking place at the level of the economic base is immediately transmitted to the state because of the relatively close interrelationship. This would, of course, account for the collapse of the Soviet Union in the face of the insurmountable fiscal quagmire brought on directly by the arms race. Within the essays that follow "social democracy" is used as the more general term.

But the basic general analytical difficulty in the determination of which nations fulfilled the requirements of "socialism" was and

remains historical in nature. Hence, the creation of institutions of representative democracy within the context of republican forms of governments was uncritically accepted as an intrinsic part of the creation of socialism. This essentially, ahistorical reductionist and simplistic conceptualization of the capitalist state did not allow for a full appreciation of the complex nature of the dynamic relations of social formations defined by the capitalist mode of production(CMP) within the political sphere.

It was generally understood that the capitalist state was the "tool" of the capitalist class, this simplistic instrumentalist point of view proved insufficient to support and sustain meaningful conscious activist social practice.

The fundamental disjuncture between the political and economic spheres as a definitive characterization of the social relations of capitalist social formations was not grasped. Therefore, representative democratic institutions i.e. congress, parliaments, or elected legislative bodies of all sorts, were not conceptualized as epic specific to capitalism. Many erroneously thought that these essentially capitalist institutions could be used to construct socialism. They thought that the "class dictatorship of the proletariat" could come through representative democracy. The Communist party advocated this, Dubois thought this, the Arusha Declaration proclaimed this (Appendix A-4, A-11, and A-13). As a matter of fact, the entire century of attempted socialist construction from the Bolshevik Revolution, through the Chinese Revolution, the Cuban, and Vietnamese Revolutions were catastrophically limited in this way.

It is accurate to say that these attempts at socialist construction failed. But the quest for socialism itself as a new and fundamentally different and distinctive mode of production with all its implication for genuine democracy as not yet been realized.

By the 1970s the experience of the attempts at social revolutions were beginning to reveal that the ICS and the CMP had not yet run it course and that its eminent decline was greatly exaggerated. Unfortunately these attempts at socialism were viewed by those who were participating in them as successful. They proclaimed that not only were they building socialism but they

had successfully created "socialist republics". A "socialist republic" is like a capitalist "manor" or "king".

This failure of theory can be traced to a weakness within the classical radical social scientific literature. Theoretical formulations regarding the ideologico-political superstructure of social formations defined by capitalist relations of production is lacking in the writings of Karl Marx and Freidrick Engels. In their writings there are some specific references that rise to the level of accurate description. But the type of theoretical formulations that are derived from an in-depth analysis of relations at the level of the economic is not to be found in the classics pertaining to the politico-ideological sphere. Perhaps, that is why those who misread these writings conclude that they are the writings of economic determinists. Even the work of V.I. Lenin is not developed in this area of theory which apply to the politico-ideological sphere, *The State and Revolution*, not withstanding.

This weakness was beginning to be addressed by certain neo-classical writers in works initiated in the late 1960s primarily in France. From our vantage point at the conclusion of the century it has become clear that these writings took a significant step, with the introduction the concept of "the relative autonomy of the capitalist state", toward a fuller and more complete conceptualization of the nature of the complex dynamic relations that characterize the ideologico-political superstructure.

Unfortunately, this conceptual inadequacy has contributed immeasurably to the ideological division of the world into two large blocs of competing nation states-one calling itself "socialist" and the other calling itself the "free world". The cold war propaganda from both sides did not help to clarify the situation. And in a real sense, political activists within this context were often forced to chose sides in conflicts and disputes where there was no middle ground. The ahistorical conception of socialism and a lack of a clear distinction between institutional relations which are epoch specific to the CMP and those, yet to emerge, that will be institutional relations epoch specific to socialism is partly responsible for this ideologico-political dilemma.

IV. The Failure to see the Party as a Capitalist Institution

This lack of a real historical analysis has also led to the over reliance upon the political party as an "instrument" of liberation. A tactical manifestation of this lack of understanding of the significance of the epoch specificity of capitalist institutional relations at the level of the political is the continuous call for the creation of some kind of political party on the part of activists then and now.

In more moderate radical circles the discussions concerning the relevance of the party meant the type of party that would effect some change on behalf of Black people within the context of local, state, and national electoral politics. For more radical groups the party was viewed as a vehicle for the creation of "socialism".

Within the electoral arena the most ardent call came from the National Black Convention meeting which occurred March 10-12 of 1972 in Gary, Indiana (Appendix B-9 and B-10) on the heels of what was regarded, at the time, as significant electoral victories. The election of several Black mayors in certain key American cities was met with a certain among of euphoria. But the brutal repression of Black activist movement by police responding to orders issued by these same administrations soon became the source of much despair. Even so activist support for the election of even more Black Mayors and other officials continued. Many thought that African Americans could concentrate their electoral energy in a single national Black political party with a single Black agenda in a concentrated electoral surge that could drive independent Black politics to a new level. This new Black party was to be the institutional manifestation of the much sort after goal of all class "Black unity."

Two realities were not seriously considered, however. The first was that there are distinctively different classes within the Black community with distinctively different ideological perspectives and agendas. The thought of these fundamental kinds of conflicts being resolved within one single party was naive at best. But the more serious problem of the nature of the one member district structure of almost all legislative bodies within the American political system and its reinforcement of a two party system was not understood. In American electoral politics, as it was and is practiced, there can only be a

governing party and an opposition. A superficial study of the history of third party attempts would lead to the conclusion that the development of a multi party system requires some kind of proportional representation within the electoral system. That is why these efforts will continue to fail.

The radicals who were alienated by the capitalist system and its electoral lack of choice were seeking an alternative system. They too were calling for a political party. They were talking about a "Leninist" party. A radical party that would bring about the liberation of Black people.

In this discussion there were those who called for an all Black party. Some called for a "Black Revolutionary Party" or a "Revolutionary Vanguard Party". The debate would then follow in which the composition of "the Party" would be stipulated by contending radical activist debaters. The issues to be decided were the racial composition of "the Party." Would the party be a "mass" party or "vanguard" party? Those of us who argued that the "party" was an institutional mechanism that developed as part of the relations within a capitalist society and therefore, could not be used to build socialism were regarded as "anarchists" by those on the other side within this heated discussion.

i. The Debate on the Relevance of the Party in the Creation of a Socialist North America

Those who advocated the creation of a Leninist Vanguard party would ask, in topical dogmatic fashion, on cue: "Don't you believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat?" And we would say: "Yes, we do". "That is why we don't believe in the dictatorship of 'the party'." The debate then progressed to the point where the avid party advocates would ask: "Who is going to organizes 'the masses'?" And we would say: "The 'masses' will organize themselves as they have always done". Then we would suggest that they were being elitist to think that revolution requires that a party lead the masses. Then they would ask: "What is the role of leadership in social movement?" That is the most essential question posed in a pure straight forward way.

The role of progressives is to be a mirror for the working class to see itself and to recognize its historical mission of class self organization, self affirmation, and self movement. The revolutionary working class will build the institutional relations through which it will rule. The response to this line of reasoning would inevitably come in the form of accusations such as: "Oh! You want to follow the masses not lead them." "You advocate an opportunist position of tailing behind the masses." "No!", we responded, "the ascendant leadership class, in the process of the creation of a new type of social formation with new relations of production at its base will institute a new politico-cultural set of dynamic relations though which its hegemonic power will be exercised". We would then take the argument to its even more controversial conclusion by saying that "the revolutionary class will make revolution, *not* the party. Really, the revolutionary class will probably have to make revolution, *in spite of* the party." The discussion would end with our comrades shaking their head in disgust and disappointment in our failure to understand what a "true" revolutionary "brother" should be doing.

Herein lies the crux of the matter. What was our conception of socialism and what was and is our vision for the transformation of the ICS into a new world socialist order? Many of us who felt that the vanguard party, as an institutional set of relations that is epic specific to the Capitalist Mode of Production (CAP) was of no use in the struggle for socialism. We were accused of being "anarchists". Because the "Dictatorship of the Vanguard Party" was synonymous with the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat". Those who did not see the utility of the party were, in the minds of some, regarded as believers in social disorder.

Without drifting into irrelevancy, it is necessary to take our discussion to the historical conjuncture where the "Vanguard Party" was conceptualized and introduced as a strategy of social democratic struggle. It was regarded as being a necessarily useful tool within a social movement against the Czar in feudal Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century. The capitalist classes created parliamentary democracy, *political parties*, and other institutions through which they rule as a class.

V.I. Lenin, the architect of the Vanguard Party concept, designed it to fight a feudal Czar and to consummate a "Bourgeois revolution", a capitalist revolution. The democratically centralized party of professional revolutionaries was intended to function within a society where there were no classical liberal rights-bourgeois democratic rights. There was no freedom of speech, press, of assembly or any other form of the rights enjoyed by the social democratic movements in Europe or America as they conducted their various campaigns. The institution of the principle of "democratic centralism" was an attempt to modify the regular open and above ground bourgeois party to function effectively in a political reality where such rights did not exist.

When the self organized "soviets" or workers councils emerged in Russia in 1905 Lenin, nor members of his newly reorganized party, did not understand their significance. At this point within the discussion our more dogmatic comrades would invariably ask: "What the hell does that have to do with anything"? We would reply: "Oh! But we are talking about the significance of the 'Vanguard Party'." This is the context of its origin.

Within the upheaval of 1917 when the self organized masses once again were challenging the power of the feudal Czar, Lenin would see the importance of the self organized "soviets." That is when the slogans "land, bread, peace, and all power to the Soviets", not all power to the party, was raised. The working class had itself created a crude set of relations through which it was prepared to rule. While these crude soviets were based upon representative democracy, the workers had created them in their self organization and self movement. The members of the party even in this situation were condescending at first. Then they were hesitant. Lenin threatened to leave the party because of their failure to act. The workers had moved and the party didn't really understand what to do. It reluctantly tailed behind and eventually subverted the mass movement. At this point it is unnecessary to engage in any further discussion of the nature of the Russian revolution and the role of the party within the developing USSR.

This was an on going discussion within the radical activist community within the U.S. and Canada during the early 1970s. It

continues to be of critical relevance to this day. Again, the parameters of this discussion and the general conceptualization of the need for a party was inspired by the role of the various parties in the building of peripheral nation states. As a matter of fact, this same set of ahistorical assumptions has led to the failure to comprehend the epoch specific nature and role of both the capitalist nation state and the party.

ii. The Relevance of the Party within the Capitalist Periphery

Regarding the relevance of the party in the struggle for liberation within the capitalist periphery, many activist thinkers conceded that it was necessary in order to bring progress to the former colonies but left the question of its role in the creation of socialism within the developed world open. Within the "Third World" the perceived success of parties like TANU (Appendix A-13) was viewed by many radical Pan-Africanists of the period as a model worthy of duplication. The efforts of TANU within the continental African context has been an example. But it was the Communist Parties associated with the Third International along with the Chinese Communist party has had the most profound and direct influence upon third world politics.

As the cold war unfolded and the conflict of "east" with "west" operated to limit independent development options and circumscribe ideological debate, the political party as a social instrumentality was seen as desirable by both camps. The social formations of the eastern bloc lead by the Soviet Union(USSR) sought a one party system modeled after the CP in the USSR. The social formations of the west lead, by the United States, wanted a strong two party system model after their example. Within this context there was complete and total agreement that the existence and effective functioning of political parties within third world countries are a clear indication of political stability and control. Unfortunately, the primary criteria used by radical thinkers to make a determination of the relative progressive nature of a given third world social formation was whether it pursued the single party system of the east or whether the western multi-party system was being followed.

Even though TANU was actively searching for ways to bring the party closer to the points of social reproduction with its policy of "ujamaa socialism" (Appendix A-15) the weight of the party and representative government was still heavy. In the long run the many difficulties involved in these valiant attempts to bring the party to the points of social production within Tanzania could not be overcome. In my own view, it will continue to be problematic for a political party, a distinctively capitalist social instrumentality based upon representative government devoid of direct democracy, to be used to implement "socialist" policies. In the same way that the king's court is not based upon representative democracy. The political party is an obstacle to direct democracy from, by, and of the point of production.

Socialism requires that the producing class within an integrated social formation taken as a totality have political power directly. This hegemonic class does not operate through intermediaries i.e. representatives. Power emanated from the points at which the integrated social formation reproduces itself. Socialism, therefore, calls for the abolition of all assembles of elected representatives and institutions representative democracy making policies for the capitalist class away from the points of social reproduction. Since these assembles are composed of infinitesimally small numbers of "representatives", when measured against the whole of the number of people who are producers, they are inherently undemocratic.

Within the coming epoch, political parties and other institutions which came into being during the capitalist epoch, will have to be swept aside as the international laboring classes create their own institutions at points of social reproduction. Thus, doing away with the disjuncture between the political and the economic which is the hallmark of the capitalist mode of production and social formations "defined" by its relations. In the 1960s and 1970s and to a great extent even today, the epoch specificity of institutions was not and is not part of the thinking of radical activists. As a consequence, our thinking regarding the relevance of the political party to progressive struggle within the developed or the underdeveloped regions of the integrated ICS has be severely limited.

iii. Lack of Clarity on the Significance of Gender

The ideas and concepts expressed within the volume, in general, and within many places within the volume, specifically, clearly express the male chauvinism of the times and some of the nomenclature reflects a great lack of analytical clarity in this regard. This fundamental flaw extends right through the entire volume including the appendices. While there was, relatively speaking, some sensitivity demonstrated in references to "human kind" and "human social progress" as opposed to "mankind" and "man's social progress", the weakness is revealed more within the analysis or lack thereof. This fundamental weakness begs us to study the form that this lack of analytical clarity took, so that the lessons can become instructive.

We had just begun to comprehend the critical analytical significance of gender variables as aspects of the dynamic determining relations that variables of this type exert upon race and class phenomena. Though, at the time of these writings, I was vaguely aware of a relationship that existed between these general categories of variables (race, class, and gender) and had some notion of race and gender as manifestations at the level of the superstructure of the ICS, the specific nature of these dynamic relations was just beginning to be formulated. It is, however, clear from these essays that my conception of these relations had progressed beyond a mere unidimensional rudimentary understanding of the simple metaphysical "intersection" of these variables on a flat plane which was cultural, political, economic, and social, all at the same time and in the same place. Even so, I had not yet reached the point of the specific conceptualization of these relations as essentially and dynamically "defined" and circumscribed by historically developing relations at the economic base within the context of an evolving multi-level international system of exploitation. Of course, the nature of these relations as they themselves developed as part of the overall manifestation at the level of the institutional superstructure of the general relations of production of the ICS are just now being cast in meaningful historical material terms.

Our failure to validly assess the critical significance of the general class of gender variables which would have enabled us to understand the crucial dangers of homophobia, comprehend the

significance of the emerging struggle for gay rights, and offer an analysis of the declining nuclear family proved to be a serious limitation upon effective activist struggle during the period. Therefore, the political analysis which came from and guided the activism of those times suffered from gross inadequacies and inaccuracies on questions relative to both race and gender. We have since learned that the valid study of gender relations, in particular, as they have developed within the evolution of the International Capitalist System (ICS) is indispensable to the maturation of the general class consciousness of international working classes. And, of course, an accurate assessment of the general consciousness of the multi-national working classes at any given period is necessary for activists to fully participate in and drive the self movement and self organization of these classes forward.

V. The Clarification of the Usage of Certain Key Concepts

Throughout the essays that follow, I refer to "Africans" in ways that might be confusing to readers. In Chapters 1 and 2, most especially, there was a felt need to refer to, what we now call, "African Americas" as "Africans in America". Among activists who were trying to establish a clear understanding of the relationship between race and class, as we legitimately expressed our alienation from the "united states of north amerika" during the seventies, this was a common usage. Since this text was directed toward the radical activists of the time the concept "Africans in America" is used in this way. My usage of the term reflects the alienation felt by "Black" youth in the 1960s and 1970s toward the United States of North America as a particular white nation state. To some of us it reflected a more profound alienation against white capitalist nation states in general. Often America is spelled "Amerikka". This spelling was meant to show the racist kkk within the spelling of America. In certain cases the word "African" is used to refer to Black people who are born and live in the United States or anywhere in the world. The concept that Africans are Africans wherever they might be is a basic tenet of Pan- Africanism.

In the 1990s the term "African American" has been officially designated as the preferred term to refer to "African people" who may be citizens of a "multi cultural" America. During the late 1960s and

1970s we simply designated all people of African decent as Africans. The reader should take note of these and other popular usages that were prevalent during those times.

But a more serious set of conceptual problems arise from the misuse of certain terms that reflect political immaturity and ideological ambiguity.

i. Misuse of the Concept of Hegemony

Throughout the essays the concept of "hegemony" is not used in the specific sense in which Antonio Gramsci defined it. It is used in a broad inclusive way almost synonymously with the popular usage of the term "power." "Power" and "hegemony" are not the same thing. Were I to write these essays today they would contain more precise usage of both distinctive concepts. The usage of one or the other is not merely a question of academic or semantic choice. "Hegemony" is *not* something that states have. This instrumentalist conception of the state as simply a class tool negates the state itself as a valid arena of struggle. States don't have power, classes do. The state, strictly speaking, is a set of dynamic institutionalized relations at the level of the superstructure. As such it is a manifestation of the class struggle and the effects of this irreconcilable conflict. Activists struggle short circuits theory and limits tactical options if a purely instrumentalist conception of power guides conscious thought and action. Understanding and accurately interpreting the significance of specific historical events can take place in a more accurate fashion, if it is informed by the knowledge that the state is the institutional embodiment of the social struggle circumscribed and defined by the economic relations at the base of an integration social formation taken as a totality. Accordingly, it has certain of the historical influences of the oppressed classes manifested within its relations as well.

This understanding guides us to quite a different set of assumptions about the nature and purpose of political praxis. For example, many of us were quite surprised by the remarkable co-optative capacity of the capitalist state. Its flexibility and its almost uncanny ability to absorb and, indeed, adjust to the demands of certain forms of working class struggle still remains a mystery to some. I might add

that this, capacity seems to be greater within the more developed regions of the ICS.

Those of us who had an instrumentalist conception of the state were caught off guard by this. It therefore, made it more difficult for us to establish a meaningful or useful relationship between "reform" and "revolutionary" struggle. At this point the strict use of the term "hegemony" become helpful. As Gramsci and others developed and refined it, "hegemony" referred to a hegemonic bloc within the ruling classes. In the analysis of real social formations the capitalist class was seen as containing within it distinctive sections and layers. At any given moment in history one section or another may have established "hegemony" within the class and within the social formation taken as a whole. Hence, it is possible to see in more precise detail definitive shifts and instances of the reconfiguration of sections and layers of capitalist classes as the ICS moves and develops from one period to the next in its own development.

Specifically, within certain parts of these essays the American Civil War was misunderstood. It was viewed as a "revolutionary civil war." Now I am much more clear about its class nature. The American Civil War, as I presently conceptualize it, was a period of dramatic reform. It was not "revolutionary" because no new social class came to power. No new and different state came into being. What appears to have occurred was the reconfiguration of the hegemonic bloc with the ascension of the industrial bourgeoisie and the dislodging of the plantation owning sector-the agrarian sector-of the old configuration. The new hegemonic bloc consisted of the new, vigorous and dominant industrial sector tied to supportive financial and commercial sectors.

In the 1960s and 1970s, strictly speaking, there was no revolution. Again, no new class came to power, nor was there a new state created. My analysis tells me that a new reconfigurated hegemonic bloc required new imperatives and policies especially regarding the regulation of labor markets. This new capitalist hegemonic bloc consisted of a dominant monopoly sector closely articulated with a new state sector supported by new and expanded forms of the organization of finance capital. This was a period of great reform which is often mistakenly

characterized as a "revolutionary transformation" by those who are not accustomed to the more precise usage of these concepts.

During the 1960s and 1970s the new power bloc was quite willing to accommodate the mass Civil Rights/Black Power Movement with structural adjustments within the central governmental apparatus of the state. In other words, the mechanisms of co-optation proved to be most effective. Perhaps, one of the most abiding lessons from the period is a more profound appreciation for the long term complexities and requirements of social transformation.

ii. Significant Ideological Confusion

Part of our lack of clarity regarding the distinctive periods and stages through which the ICS had traveled was our failure to comprehend the unique periods and stages through which capitalist ideology has likewise progressed. We certainly did not fully understand neither the articulated relations of ideology with the base nor the implications of the various forms of the ideology itself. We simply did not systematically study capitalist ideology. We made up ideology as we went.

Part of our problem was objective in the sense that the study of ideology in and of itself is almost completely alien to American intellectual life. Therefore, to undertake the serious study of ideology from the vantage point of the United State was almost too much to ask since within the social formation called the United States of North America, pragmatism rules. By its very nature pragmatism is atheoretical. The poverty of theory in America is unnerving. Our ideological postulates were guided by the make shift anti theoretical pronouncements of American pragmatism. That is why so many of us proclaimed ourselves to be "Black Nationalists." "Amerikka" was ruled by "white nationalists" so we, quite simplistically and pragmatically, became "Black Nationalists."

What I tried to do with the use of the concept "social democracy" was to break out of some of this simplistic pragmatism and bring some ideological continuity to a failed attempt to describe the nature of certain peripheral states that others were designating as "socialist" or "revolutionary." In these essays I misused and abused all of these

concepts. My conceptual attempts to break with the nomenclature of the period, particularly the rhetoric of the cold war, fell short. What I chose to call "social democracy" then, I would, more accurately designate as "neo liberalism" or "welfare liberalism" now. Nevertheless, the historically accurate designation for the states making up the old eastern bloc-including the Soviet Union and the Cuba of that day, was and is problematic. Today, I would describe them as "social democratic". They would definitely not be, in any way characterized as "socialist". But on the other hand, it is clear that the post apartheid regime in South Africa is guided by neo liberal ideology.

In the United State this same neo liberalism is the ideology of the ruling class. And as a result of the inadequacy of the "social democratic" policies of the former Soviet bloc states, the triumph of neo liberal capitalism has been proclaimed throughout the world. The globalization of "free world democracy" has announced the end of the "cold war" with a victory for the "western democracies" and an end to ideology.

Make no mistake about it. The end of ideology is not yet upon us. What was portrayed, in a false dichotomy between "communism" and "democracy", as an epoch struggle between two distinctive economic systems, was nothing more than a clash between two different forms of the same capitalist system. We were unable to see this false dichotomy as the straw horse that it was ideologically. Vicious red baiting and sectarianism began to occur within the mass movement and all manner of subjective baseless negativity divided us. Thus, the pervasive all consuming cold war blinded and sterilized us ideologically and set us politically adrift. A systematic and serious study of the twists and turns of capitalist ideology would have served us well.

iii. Pan-Africanism and Afrocentricism

There are many who presently use the concepts "Pan-Africanism" and "Afrocentricism" interchangeably. Actually, even though they are related they have quite distinctive origins and meanings. During the early 1970s the term "Afrocentricism" was not used among activists. It would, however, emerge during the 1980s as part of the Black Studies movement primarily at white universities. The concept of Pan-

Africanism came into prominence as part of the anti-colonial struggle and has its deep roots within political activism that spans more than a century. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 outlines the origins and the political and ideological development of the concept up to the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Throughout the course of its existence Pan-Africanism has been based upon activist struggle for social and political change.

Afrocentricism, on the other hand, has come into being as essentially an interdisciplinary intellectual movement designed to offer an alternative perspective to, what has been termed the dominant "Eurocentric" world view. Afrocentricism is thus, counterposed to the prevailing Eurocentrism within the social sciences and the humanities in the liberal arts curriculum, most particularly, at institutions of higher education, but generally within education at all levels.

In the wake of the Civil Rights/ Black Power Movement college campuses became the battleground for all manner of causes which were part of the ripple affect of the mass upheavals of the sixties led and inspired by the self movement of African American working people. As a direct consequence of this essentially political movement, many "Black Studies Programs" began to carve out an interdisciplinary niche within the curriculum of various colleges and universities. Afrocentrism therefore, represents a metaphysical and idealist strategy in an attempt toward the achievement of this end.

It is generally acknowledged that the valid study of world history has been inadequate in many ways. The most prominent among these limitations are the following: 1) The lack of understanding of the critical importance of Africa in the origin and early social development of human beings, 2) the failure to comprehend the determining significance of the slave trade and slavery in the development of the modern world, and 3) the inability to understand and account for the decisive impact of the self organization and movement of the independent African American sector of the American working class upon the history of the ICS or that of the American social formation within it.

This of course, has resulted in deficient and invalid theory. It has also resulted in two distinctive and competing explanations for this

obvious conceptual inadequacy. While intellectuals rooted in the scientific approach which requires valid and complete empirical information view this problem as a failure to include critically significant information in an overall approach, the proponents of Afrocentrism see it as a problem of perspective. They simplistically conclude that since there is a "white view" of the world; African people must develop a "Black view" of the world. Some even go so far as to advocate the creation of a "Black metaphysics" to counter "white metaphysics".

This reversion to non activist armchair philosophy is, of course, part of the very same alienation common among academics who do not regard praxis as necessary for "ideological" validation. They have not yet realized that philosophy is really dead. Theory based upon valid empirical information reigns in the present period.

Authentic social practice based upon real struggle in the real world is the way toward valid theory not the simple linear academic logic of philosophy rooted within its own internal consistency alone. Such an analysis cut off from grassroots social struggle lapses into classical cultural nationalism and runs the risk of outright and immediate co-optation by the neo-liberal pluralist state. Put another way, Afrocentrism leads directly into the trap of simple multi culturalism and for that reason is essentially accommodationist.

While the initial emphasis on a interdisciplinary approach offered some promise for overcoming the compartmentalized nature of Humanities and the Social Sciences many "Black Studies" programs ended up in the hands of professors who had degrees in English. This was part of the institutionalized process by which "Black Studies" was defanged. All of the politics was systematically removed and it became a trans-disciplinary "academic" field in the most non-activist sense of the word. Many "Black Studies" programs simply became "Multi Cultural Studies" programs. Some even became "Minority Studies" programs. Of course these are the ones with the highest profiles and the largest budgets. Within this context the struggle to maintain an "Afrocentric" focus undoubtedly has some utility. Still its fundamental weakness remains that it is a purely "academic" concept.

The Sixth Pan-African Congress, on the other hand, has affirmed that the ideological concept of Pan-Africanism is based upon activist social struggle and is part of the general theory of social movement which asserts that the class struggle is the primary motive force of history. This view furthers asserts that there is no "Eurocentric world view" in the strict sense. What is being regarded as Eurocentrism is nothing more than the world view of the international capitalist classes.

By affirming that Pan-Africanism is an ideological formulation rooted within the struggle of African laboring people both on the continent and throughout the Diaspora the social struggle is given context and meaning. All class "black unity" is recognized as tactical impossible and strategically suicidal. But in the final analysis, Pan-Africanism is acknowledged to be part of the international proletarian movement that has to transcend the nation states of the world that are the creatures of international capitalist rule.

INTRODUCTION
PART I

Originally the two Chapters that make up Part I were a single essay entitled "*The Rise and Fall of White Internationalism*". This essay had a twofold purpose. It was written to expose the failure of the classical white left and to document the emergence of the Pan-Africanism. My students decided that it would have a greater expository effect if it were divided and presented as two sequenced essays. The first Chapter, *White Nationalism and Internationalism,* therefore, is an attempt to outline the broad contours of the rise of the nation state in Europe as a manifestation of capitalist class power. It is followed by the second Chapter, *The Comintern and Black Internationalism,* which is a descriptive essay outlining the development of the anti colonial mass movement throughout the capitalist periphery as well as the Civil Rights/ Black Power movement within the U.S. that essentially coincided with it. Make no mistake, this was an anti imperialist international movement. Unfortunately, many writers have inaccurately conceptualized the Civil Rights/Black Power movement as an American phenonomenon. The implications of this broad movement, that took place within many different regions of the ICS

simultaneously, are defined within the ideological parameters of the concept of "Black Internationalism" introduced within the essay. This concept offers a more complete understanding of the full scope of this social motion. The Pan-African Congresses and the Pan-African mass movement are focused upon within this context.

Capitalist class efforts at institutionalized internationalism such as the League of Nations, the United Nations, and the World Court are not mentioned. These chapters were meant to make a contribution to an ongoing debate among radical activists during the late 1960s and the decade of the 1970s. The conceptual point of departure and the central focus of these chapters were the general relevance and historic significance of "proletarian international" as a meaningful concept. At the time of these writings it appeared that a consensus had been reached among many that the "classical international white left" had not realized its own objectives. With that understood the essential question still remained; What does "internationalism" mean for us as Black radical political activists?

These essays sought to enter the debate by endeavoring to locate the nation state as a set of political relations that were the institutional effects of the struggle between the ascendant capitalist classes of Europe and the declining feudal landlords. In so doing some confusion was let into the back door by not clearly defining the slave plantation system of the new world as part of the ICS. This general conceptual weakness was a dominant theme within much of the white left writing of the period. Consequently, the plantation system operating within the capitalist periphery during its pre-industrial phase was described as being "pre capitalist" or "semi feudal."

This general theoretical inadequacy which sees *only* the industrial period as it developed *only* in Europe as the *only* real capitalism has led to a series of catastrophic conceptual errors. My lack of clarity in this regard is revealed in very specific ways herein. For example, the American Constitution is referred to as a "semi-bourgeois constitution." In a similar fashion the reformist nature of the American Civil War was not clear to me when this essay was being written. It was seen, ambiguously, as a "Revolutionary Civil War." But most unforgivably, the capitalist plantation system within Santo Domingo (now Haiti)

operating as a peripheral social formation within the pre-industrial ICS was conceptualized as a "feudal caste system". More clarity on this and related question can be seen within other essays that compose this volume.

Besides the excessive use of male chauvinist nomenclature another difficulty is to be found throughout this section of the work. The continuous use of the racist and problematic concept "civilization" adds confusion of a different sort. Walter Rodney has identified this stumbling block in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.* He offers the use of the concept "culture" in an attempt to add more scientific rigor and to circumvent the pitfalls of racism and general lack of unbiased precision. I should have been mindful of this difficulty and adopted Walter's usage.

Even though the Gramskian concept of "hegemony" is misused through out all of the essays that make up this volume, the problem seems to be most acute in Chapter 2. Repeatedly "hegemony" is used as if it is an attribute of states. I now understand that classes, or more specifically, "blocs" of classes exercise hegemony through the state at a particular historic conjuncture-an important conceptual realization indeed.

Chapter 2 was particularly challenging because of the particular tasks that it set for itself. It was attempting to define a new kind of "internationalism" within the contextual analysis of mass movements emerging from the reconfiguration of the ICS. This was necessary because, as activists in the sixties and seventies, we felt a profound need to break with the old conceptual framework offered to us by the white left (WL). But we had to work our way through this process. In so doing we often found ourselves trapped within the conceptual limitations of the WL even as its bankruptcy was particularly revealing in its failure to comprehend the implications for effective social practice of international racism as it operated throughout the ICS in both its metropoles and its periphery.

Within the United States the Civil Rights/Black Power movement had raised the question of: What is the nature of the relationship of Black people within the U.S. to the American nation state? Within Chapter 2 and within the rest of the essays all sorts of ambiguous

assertions in this regard are made. Like many, I was unclear on this question. Even so, there was some indication as to the direction which my analysis was beginning to take. Phrases like "oppressed national configuration in the U.S." or Africans in America were "held within the most backward sector of the U.S. economy" indicates some skepticism about the "nation time" euphoria as well as some uneasiness about the "internal colony" metaphor.

In the final analysis, Chapter 2 does represent a great deal of naiveté concerning what socialism is and what is required for such social relations as can be defined as authentic socialism to come into existence. The various ideological propositions that came from the Comintern reflected this same conceptual inadequacy. We also thought that the creation of socialism through out the world was an eminent and immediately possibility. Indeed many of us thought that it was already in existence in some parts of the world. Although I was quit skeptical of this; these essays, nevertheless are an adequate reflection of where I was on these questions.

INTRODUCTION
PART II

The two essay contained within Part II together entitled *Social Class and International Black Power* presented several unique challenges. In the first essay of this section, *The Class Origin and Nature of the Contending Ideologies Within Black Society,* a class analysis of the African American community as it appeared then was offered as a tool of activism. This essay was published as the first of two essays in a pamphlet entitled *A Class Analysis for African Nationalists and The African Liberation Support Committee-Two Essays* which came out in 1974 in the midst of the internal debate on the "Statement of Principles" of the International African Liberation Support Committee. The essay which is presented in Chapter 8 was the second of the two essays that constituted the pamphlet. As part of this debate the essay which is now Chapter 3 had a very specific activist objective. It's purpose was to convince as many activist cadre within the ALSC as possible that the a class analysis could be used to enhance the work of their local committees. Many of them were self proclaimed "Black Nationalists" to one degree or

another. It was, therefore, an appeal to them to embrace those elements within the "Statement of Principles" that asserted the existence of classes within the Black community as well as the contention that the organization of Black workers was essential to the success of our campaign. In general, it was an appeal to become more effective activists by using the weapon of the class analysis.

The first expository challenge was to establish some position on the question of the general relationship of Black people in America to other segments of society. This had to be done in a way that would be acceptable to the "Black Nationalists" of that time so that a class analysis could be launched without fully affirming the "Black Nation within the Black belt south" thesis of the Communist Party or the more popular "internal colony" analytical model. Within this context, "the historical particularities of the independent Black movement" had to be affirmed. On the other side of the debate Black workers were concieved as just another part of the "multi-national proletariat" without special consideration or even the right to organize independently of white workers. The independent organization of Black workers was regarded as "splitting the proletariat" and was condemned as "reactionary". This view was articulated by the "dogmatic Marxists" who were unduly influenced by the white left, in my estimation. Nevertheless, the "Black Nationalists" were under attack by this tendency. This essay was offered as an attempt to establish some middle ground in the debate-taking the most useful elements from both sides.

The persistent problem of ambiguously moving between a description of individuals from a particular class and the social role of the class itself in the class struggle was not overcome. Since the essay had an immediate political objective the unresolved dilemma of writing a guide to effective activism or a serious theoretical piece was one of the reasons for this inadequacy. Not only does this difficulty exist in this essay but it remains a common analytical problem in most radical writing then and now.

Even though the analysis was located within the rural to urban transition of the massive population of African American labor it was unduly narrow. There were also serious errors arising from the analysis

itself. For example, the layer of "professionals" like school teachers and lower and even middle level civil service functionaries were really part of the working class. Were I to do the analysis of that period today the layers that would be included within the working class would be much broader and inclusive while those layers that would be part of the "petit-bourgeoisie" would be more restricted. Additional, I would be more careful with the usage of the "street force" and the "lumpen" categories in an attempt to avoid the error that is now being made by the unqualified and dangerously reckless usage of the term "underclass."

Chapter 4 of Part II, *The Democratic Struggle of Black People of the Caribbean and the U.S.: From Black Power to Black Workers' Power,* was designed to be a comparative description of the Civil Rights/Black Power movement as it was taking place simultaneously within the Caribbean, particularly the Anglo phone, and the U.S. The Civil Rights Movement and most especially, its "Black Power" phase was, again, accurately conceptualized as an international movment not merely particular to or localized within the U.S. This upheaval was conceptually inclusive of the Cuban insurrection as well as the many regional anti-colonial and neo-colonial movements throughout the capialist perphery. The emphasis was appropriately placed upon the class struggle which defined both the context and the internal dynamics of this movement as it was occurring within both the Caribbean and the U.S. The role of the opportunistic petit-bourgeoisie in restricting and subverting this general mass upheaval is juxtaposed against its working class anti-capitalist essence.

The major conceptual error of asserting that a "massive and intense struggle for internal democracy was changed into a struggle for socialism which was consolidated" in Cuba is evident also within the essay. No doubt a new regime came to power, but whether or not "socialism" came with it is the question. While the present Cuban regime remains one of the most progressive of the last century and should be defended by radical activists; based upon what I have learned about epoch specificity, I would now conclude that Cuba is *not* nor has it ever been socialist. It is a nation state with institutions of representative

democracy. It is a democratic republic- progressive though it might be.

Aside from an inaccurate definition of fascism there is an enormous body of accurate documented historical description contained within this chapter. This information is reinforced by appendix B-12 and B-23. The essay gives a clear indication of the scope of the mass movement and points to things to come. By the close of the decade of the 1970s the New Jewel Movement had taken power in Grenada (1979) and the Working People's Alliance of Guyana had been dealt a serious blow with the killing of Walter Rodney in 1980. After a brief period of rule the radical democratic regime in Grenada split into two factions. The Bishop lead wing sort more direct popular democracy. A Stalinist faction was pushing for more centralized governance. The conflict resulted in the assassination of Bishop and the brief assumption of power by the Stalinist faction. The repression that followed was used as a provocation for an invasion and the occupation of the island by the U.S. military.

Although these events are not part of the essay the information within it helps to lay the foundation for the understanding of them as the struggle continues.

INTRODUCTION
PART III

With, Part III, *Activist Social Practice: Three Radical Political Organizations*, we arrive at the quintessential essence of the volume. We go into the internal struggles of three of the most important and least known Black radical organizations of the late 1960s and early 1970s and place them in some context while critically examining them from within. Although these organizations were very different in their purposes, structures and in the form and scope of their organizational activities, their contribution to radical praxis is undeniable.

Chapter 5, *The League of Revolutionary Black Workers: An Analysis of an Organizational Form,* was an attempt to establish the LRBW as a manifestation of the independent African American worker's movement.

Like the Underground Railroad during slavery and the Brotherhood

of Sleeping Car Porters during the 1920s within their respective contexts during their times, the LRBW of Detroit emerged in the transition from civil rights to Black Power during the late 1960s. In the wake of one of the largest urban rebellions of the period (Summer 1967, Detroit) this independent radical Black worker's organization came into being after the May 2, 1968 wildcat strike at the Dodge Main Assembly Plant.

Without a doubt the most significant contribution of the League to the history of labor struggle is its ideological emphasis on the political significance of the "point of production". The LRBW interpreted the popular slogan "Black Power" to mean "Black Worker's Power". Unlike the Black Panther Party for Self Defense which asserted that "Power comes from the Barrel of a Gun", the LRBW advanced the proposition that "Power comes from the Point of Production."

The LRBW was a short-lived organization that was perpetually engaged in the process of intense activist struggle and rapid self transformation. By attempting the difficult task of maintaining and sustaining struggle at the point of production within a key American industry many critical ideological questions were raised and measured against the objective praxis of the organization. The intense ideological struggle over these historically critical questions took place within the organization as tactical and strategically practical questions. Since there was no democratic forum for internal debate and the resolution of these questions and since the organization was a federation of various "point of production" and support units, the organization fragmented as factions crystallized within the various units around the distinctive positions on the burning questions that the organization faced. Nevertheless, within the unstructured internal ideological struggle highly developed positions emerged arising from the weighty questions that surfaced in the daily social practice of the activists within the LRBW.

Again, Chapter 6, *The African Liberation Support Committee and the Class/National Question,* first appeared in 1974 as the second essay in the pamphlet entitled *A Class analysis for African Nationalists and the African Liberation Support Committee: Two Essays.* Chapter 3 of this

volume, *A Class analysis of African Society in America For African Nationalist Activists,* was the first essay presented in the pamphlet. The writing of the pamphlet and this essay had a specific political motivation and a central focus as part of the internal debate within the ALSC on the *Statement of Principles of the International African Liberation Support Committee.* This essay was written to help win support for the stance on the class struggle articulated within the "Statement of Principles." It was addressed to "African Nationalist Activists."

It attempted to identify the various political tendencies within the ALSC and demonstrate how the ideological struggle was taking place as the organizations debated the decisions which it had to make during the course of carrying out its well defined specific objectives. The activists within the ALSC identified the purpose of the organization from the outset as: 1) to mobilize grassroots African Americans in the annual ALD demonstration, and 2) to raise money to give to the Liberation Organization that were actively engaged in the struggle against colonialism and racism in southern Africa. This clear focus provided an objective yardstick for the measurement of effective activism and served as a concrete framework for focused ideological debate.

This essay then is an attempt to chronicle the tactical and structural decisions that the organization made up to the point of its writing in light of the distinctive ideological tendencies that were identified. The ideological metamorphosis of many organizations and activists within the ALSC was phenomenal. But in retrospect perhaps, these seemingly extraordinary transformations were possible because of the definitive way in which effective social practice could be measured within the organization.

The essay that makes up Chapter 6 appeared in the spring of 1974, after one year of the existence of the ALSC. The task of equably dividing the money that was raised for material support of the African Liberation Organizations proved to be perhaps the most difficult and revealing of the decisions made by the ALSC. At the writing of this essay only one round of the annual appropriation had been made. As reflected within Chapter 6, money was given to the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, FRELIMO in Mozambique, both ZANU and ZAPU in Rhodesia, and only to UNITA in Angola. In light of the present

situation, the decision to support only UNITA in Angola seems to be very questionable. This distribution reflected our understanding of the situation on the ground, as well as the internal political struggle within ALSC, and the degree to which this decision was influenced by Cold War politics.

The next year the amount of the money was greater and the distribution was quite different. PAIGC did not receive funds because it was thought that their liberation was assured. The joint command of ZANU and ZAPU was supported. In Angola both MPLA and UNITA were now supported. Additionally both ANC and PAC were given significant support in South Africa.

In 1974 the fascist regime was overthrown in Portugal as a direct result of the political pressure placed upon it by liberation struggles within its African colonies. During the very next year (1975) the defeat of a large South African invading force in Angola by a combined MPLA and Cuban force at Cuito Cuanavale proved to be the critical turning point in the liberation of Southern Africa taken as a whole. The decisions that informed the work of the ALSC was a minor part in this rapidly changing process.

But in the final analysis the clearly defined tasks that the ALSC set for itself proved to be its lasting legacy.

Chapters 7, 8, and 9 have their own general introduction within the text of the volume itself. These chapters taken together were the basic chapters that composed my Master's Thesis entitled *The Sixth Pan-African Congress and the International Class Struggle.* These essays were written in 1976.

There are, however, a few points that need to be made by way of a supplementary introduction here. The organizational work for the Sixth PAC was taking place at the same time that the ALSC was active. In many ways the ALSC complimented the efforts to organize the Sixth PAC. In a real sense, it was the North American ALSC activists and the Liberation Organizations from southern Africa that set the tone of the Congress after it became evident that Non-Governmental delegations would have an up hill battle impacting the its work. Indeed, some of these delegations were blocked from attendance (Appendix B-22). In the end the North American Delegation in tandem with the

progressive governments and the Liberation Organizations help draft a General Declaration (Appendix B-23) that enshrined Pan-Africanism within the class struggle and is a scathing condemnation of neo-colonialism. It was evident that the clarity of activism prevailed within the international forum that was the Sixth PAC.

INTRODUCTION
PART IV

Part IV which is entitled *The International Capitalist System: Some Conceptual Questions* is composed of 4 essays devoted to the exploration of several different approaches to the study of some of the critical conceptual questions relative to the origin and nature of the ICS. In a purely logical sequence of exposition this section should have been presented first. But since this volume is designed to be a pedagogical tool or as stated earlier, "an activist weapon," I have yielded to my student's wishes in the expository sequencing of these essays. They undoubtedly know what they want to read first and what sequence they wish to follow.

The essay that makes up Chapter 10, *Slave Labor as the Central Factor in the Comparative Economic Development of Brazil and the United States* involves an attempt to understand how the ICS developed along the specific trajectory that it took. Prior to the publication of the widely read *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* many questions about the relative cruelty of the various slave trading nations were being raised. For example, did the Portuguese follow more "humane" practices within their plantation system? These sorts of questions were brought forth as purely academic inquiries. With the publication and wide circulation of Walter's book other questions about the role of slavery in Brazil and the lack of industrial development in Portugal and Spain up through the 1800s, were being opened. But now this inquiry was taken out of the realm of idealist academic discussion and put on a dialectical materialist footing becoming relevant, useful and meaningful to activists. Questions relative to the general linkage of Latin American and Caribbean slavery to the industrial revolution in Europe, its relevance to colonialism, and its continuing implications for regional development in the contemporary period were being opened up for discussion.

Chapter 10 was suppose to be an attempt to enter and make a contribution to this debate by offering some comparative historical description within the context of the general assumption that the ICS was an integrated international system of production and exchange relations in every phase of its development.

The Economic Context and Consequences of the White Lotus and Taiping Rebellions, the essay that is Chapter 11, represents a probe into the question of why the most developed feudal social formation "the world had ever seen" could not transform itself into capitalism. Why was China trapped by feudalism? As the essay was being written I realized that China was being integrated into the ICS as early as the 1700s. While the central core of the ICS was the "Atlantic Rim" social formations, China was very much a part of the trade and production relations of the international system which was an integrating totality.

The problem that those of us who were debating these issues had was the metaphysical manner in which we posed the questions for ourselves. We were simply asking useless questions in this regard. We were searching for the metaphysical and mythical place of the origin of capitalism. We were seeking the "holy grail " or the " True Covenant." Using a more contemporary metaphor, we were like lost soldiers looking for the front in a "Peoples' War." We did not have Chu Ta or General Va Nguyen Giap to remind us that "the front is nowhere because it is everywhere."

Capitalism did not begin in Europe it only "appeared" to have begun there. It began within the core social formations of the "Atlantic Rim" rooted in the slave trade and the exchange in the products of slave labor. The huge surpluses that were derived from points of production within the capitalist periphery of that time went almost exclusively to Europe giving the "appearance" that capitalism began there. It, therefore, developed around a core of social formations on four continents simultaneously. Africa, North and South America, and Europe provided the locus of a central core from which it spread rapidly to involve China, the rest of Asia and the world.

The comparative analysis between the *White Lotus* and the *Taiping* rebellions is offered as another piece of, hopefully, valid historical description to add to this important and necessary re-conceptualization.

Clearly, the *White Lotus* was an upheaval which essentially took place within a feudal social formation almost completely outside of the ICS. On the other hand, the *Taiping* rebellion, occurring later, was essentially a revolt which took place within a peripheral capitalist social formation in the process of becoming integrated into the ICS.

Additionally, the implications of the role of land reform in the struggle to establish the Peoples' Republic of China was not lost in the writing of this essay. This too was an important part of a related but separate debate among activists during the 1960s and 70s.

In *The Bauxite Politics of the Caribbean*, which is Chapter 12 of the collection, a different approach was taken in the exploration of the nature of economic relations as they manifested themselves in the politics of the Caribbean region. If the reader will recall, a purely political historical descriptive approach was used in Chapter 4 regarding the empirical information about the Anglophone Caribbean. In Chapter 12, however, a commodity based political economic analysis was being attempted.

It is accurate to say that in Chapter 10 we were tracing sugar and cotton as we were attempting to analyze their significance as "historical commodities". Even so they were not treated as the central focus of the effort. But in Chapter 12 we were using a contemporary commodity which was of critically significance to the post Second Imperialist World War *industrial capitalist* expansion within the western hemisphere.

The choice of bauxite as a "political commodity" for the region allowed us to focus on some of the more critical contemporary production and exchange relations as they affected regional politics. Empirical information and analysis regarding the operation of MNCs was also offered in this connection.

Many have asserted that wars are fought over the production and exchange of certain critical commodities. This proposition appears to be supported by the deceptive deployment of the largest military force in history known to spin doctors as the *Desert Shield* which turned into the *Desert Storm*. "Oil politics" had erupted into a fully- fledged "Oil war".

The validity of political analysis based upon tracing the interconnectedness of the ICS through a single commodity or a cluster

of commodities can prove to be an effective avenue of approach. We attempted it here, hopefully, with some measure of success.

In the finally Chapter, *Angelo Herndon and the Repression of the American State*, another more familiar approach was being used. Here the activities of an individual Black activist who was a member of the Communist Party in the south was the objective of study. There was a feeble attempt to put his activist efforts in some sort of regional, national, and international context. Since many of us were from the south and the modern Civil Rights/Black Power movement, with classical white leftist support, was centered in the south we had questions relative to the level of Black radical organizational activity in previous periods.

In this regard, there was not much empirical information. The activities of Angelo Herndon was all that was readily available. Since then, however, more work has been done. The sterling work by Robin Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression,* has helped to fill this great void.

In approaching the radical activism of Angelo Herndon in Chapter 13 there was a persistent effort to avoid the pitfalls of becoming merely a biographical treatment. In a world where liberal ideology reigns supreme it is difficult not to become entrapped by it. But even with this profound limitation some small scrapes of valid historical description might be found here and there within the essay.

The appendix contains some 40 public documents. Most of them came from my personal files. My students urged that as many of them as possible and relevant be included. With their help this was done.

With this addition it is hoped that the volume will achieve a greater degree of authenticity.

Modibo M. Kadalie Ph.D.
August, 2000

PART I

THE RISE AND FALL OF WHITE INTERNATIONALISM

CHAPTER 1

White Nationalism and Internationalism

In this present period of great ideological struggle and much confusion as the independent Black Movement within the United States gropes for direction, many old formulations and categorizations are put forth without modification. Some of the concepts and formulations are dogmatically misapplied and unceremoniously imposed without any attention being paid to the particularities of either the epoch of their origin or to the epoch to which they are regarded to have relevance. This is often done under the guise of "scientific analysis." It is an unfortunate situation that continues to compound the ideological confusion within our movement.

One of the many examples of this sort of misanalysis is a recently published statement by the Black Workers Congress (BWC) which begins:

> The Black Workers Congress is a multi-national communist organization which bases itself on the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung thought. The BWC upholds proletarian internationalism and firmly unites with all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, organizations and the proletariat and oppressed peoples and nations the world over to oppose U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and to fight to overthrow all imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.[1]

While there are many concepts and categories put forth within these two sentences, much of which is positive and some of which might even be useful, it is the intention of this effort to focus upon one of the most often proclaimed of the formulations. This chapter will, therefore, deal most centrally with the concept of "proletarian internationalism" as a historically developed and dynamic concept that must be critically re-evaluated, as all historical categories must, as the struggle for a more highly developed human existence continues.

This process of constant analysis and re-evaluation is not a mere useless and unnecessary academic exercise. Concepts and formulae if they are to lose their character as useless and unnecessary abstractions have to coincide with a given historical moment within a social movement. Concepts spring from social movement and it is through that movement that they become valid and useful. Proletarian internationalism comes from the conspicuous mass movement of European workers rising up in open rebellion against the conditions of their collective existence in the 1840s up through the Paris Commune of 1871. That is the historical context of the concept. Since that time there has been the development of revolutionary peoples' insurrections in Russia, and more recently in China, Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and other parts of the "Third World."

With the massive intervention of the revolutionary armed peasantry of the underdeveloped world and the movement of independent "Black" labor and peoples within metropolitan society itself on the one hand; and the international "white" bourgeoisie and its relatively pacified proletariat along with the reactionary role of white settlers in the underdeveloped world on the other hand; new imperatives require that the concept of proletarian internationalism, at the very least, be re-examined.

It is, therefore, the intention of this section of the present work to begin the re-examination of this concept. We will proceed first by looking at the historic roots of internationalism i.e. bourgeois internationalism. Secondly, we will attempt to sketch out some of the most essential aspects of the European working class movement of the mid and latter nineteenth century in order to shed some light upon the origin of the concept. Such an effort would not be completed unless an attempt was made to review some of the most obvious characteristics of this present period in order to see how useful the concept is now for practical struggle. In a later chapter this will be addressed, but the scope and range of Chapters 1 and 2 does not include a treatment of that question.

I. The Rise of the Modern Nation State

The nation state is the political creature of the economic ascendancy of the modern bourgeoisie. It is a relatively recent phenomenon in human history. Walter Rodney, the Guyanese revolutionary intellectual, has outlined a scientific path of the development of human society. He first defines the basic concept of "development" as the expanding capacity of a society to more efficiently organize itself for and carry out production.[2]
He says that:

> *Every people have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting the resources of nature. (Emphasis in the original) ....*[3]

Taking this general point further he stipulates that:

> Development was universal because the conditions leading to economic expansion were universal. Everywhere, man was faced with the task of survival by meeting fundamental material needs; and better tools were a consequence of the interplay between human beings and nature as part of the struggle for survival.[4]

Though this process is not linear or evenly developing, genuine historical materialists agree that the general direction of social advancement is characterized by continued increase in the quantity of products which leads to a qualitative transformation in the mode of social existence. These successive qualitative transformations within the mode of production are the stages or epochs that define the history of the social development of human kind.

Man began with relatively small units of social production and virtually no exchange. Because the social units were infinitesimal the intellectual scope of man was equally infinitesimal. Put another way, the economic basis of early societies was small and relatively backward, consequently severe limitations were placed upon development within the superstructure from which humans directly derive their intellectual life.

After thousands of years of change, transformation, setbacks, rapid advances, monstrous defeats, unevenness in human conflicts with nature and with other human beings, which was constantly changing in its character; the colossal units of production and exchange that have come to be known as the modern nation-state came into being ruled and fashioned by a class of people who resulted from this long and arduous path of dialectical development. The modern nation-state was the creation of the modern bourgeoisie and serves as the political form or funnel through which this class continues to perpetuate itself in its quest for historical immortality.

The most highly developed political formations of this type took place in Europe and later in North America. It is for those reasons that the brutality that has come to be a part of this class slashing its way across the planet has come to be associated with Europeans generally. Rightly so. Capitalism and the European predatory nation state became to Europe and the rest of the world what feudalism, in its most advanced forms, was to Asia, and communal and intricate pre-feudal modes along with a variety of early forms of social production was to the continent of Africa. Indeed, as anthropologists agree it was in Africa that man first became man. If this is so then it was in Africa that production first took place on any significant scale.

The European bourgeoisies could become international precisely because they were national. After carving out and consolidating their sway within a certain geographical area which defined its boundaries a given national state could continue it expansion. This occurs because of the organic and predatory nature of the capitalist mode of production. With this expansion bourgeois rule spreads. It, therefore, became a highly developed system for international conquest with its ruling class at the helm guiding, in a deliberate and calculating way, its own realization and affirmation through continuous conquest.

Karl Marx painted an impressive picture in broad brush strokes of a progressive and revolutionary bourgeoisie integrating and unifying a fragmented world of large and small unevenly developed units into a more cosmopolitan system of exploitative production. He states:

> The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe.

> It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.[5]

As the economic base of bourgeois cosmopolitan society broadened and became more highly developed through the creation of a system of interpenetration, subjugation, and dependency of the production relations between and within different regions of the world as part of the material reality of this epoch, corresponding changes took place within the intellectual scope of men. In a real sense the world market made the world round. It gave it the continuity of a sphere.

In the beginning, the production relations that are characteristic of the capitalist mode of production unleashed a period of conspicuous advancement in its instruments of production that catapulted European civilization into a role that it had never before played. It became, as a result of the progress of all humankind, the benefactor of all human production, creativity, and technological achievement up to that point. The white bourgeoisie in its wider tunnel vision, in its longer myopia, saw the transformation of the world into its own play thing the end of a long historical process which had been realized with its ascendency. While it is true that capitalist production, as Marx says:

> . . . .has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments, and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier, and one customs tariff.[6]

It is also true that "national one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness"[7] which became impossible gave way to "national and class chauvinism" and "racism" which became essential to the justification for the expropriation of the products of African slave labor along with the exchange of those products and the slaves themselves as a substantial and a necessary ingredient of this developing world system of production. The European bourgeoisie ripped off the products of

any smaller production unit that had progressed far enough to have a surplus. Those that did not have a surplus were wiped out. Those that did were penetrated economically and annexed politically. Large sections of these units of production were even relocated and redefined geographically. Later as part of this same process, as the social relations of production were transformed, or simply attached in modified form for the purpose of continued economic exploitation where there were well developed class cleavages and large surpluses to be expropriated economically, colonial oppression and domination took place politically.

While this should be regarded as an objective historical process, it was just as objectively bloody and inhuman. Because other dimensions of human existence such as man's productive capacity and his intellectual range were becoming broader, so too was his capacity for effective and efficient violence against nature and himself. As the international pillage of the supreme creation of modern civilization (the European bourgeoisie) commenced, the ideological perspective of that same class configuration was revealed as hollow.

Though the particularities were different, the insurgent white bourgeoisie's quest for state power in eastern Europe, north America and even in Japan had the uneven uniformity that characterized historical continuity.

i. The Protestant Reformation

In England it was the Puritans that began to break the stranglehold of the Catholic Church and of the Pope as the primary buttresses of the feudal super structure. Luther had taught that the individual man had the obligation to save himself through direct prayer and repentance. This eliminated the need for a single autocrat who justified his reason for existence by saying that he had a direct line to God and no prayer was legitimate unless it came through him. The Reformation was opposed to a single head of the church as the mediator between God and mortals and was therefore opposed to the divine right that was the basis of the rule of a feudal monarch. C.L.R. James put it this way:

> . . . . The Puritans of town and country, petty-bourgeois,and semi-proletarian, shut off from freedom by the state, attempted to

> establish democracy in religion. The sects each attempted to form was a social community in which the individual would exercise the new freedom, unlimited except by the equal freedom of other men. James I of England did not misunderstand them one bit. He discerned the republicanism hidden in their anti-Ecclesiasticism. To all their arguments for religious freedom he invariably croaked in reply, 'No Bishop, No King.'[8]

Although it was the national bourgeoisie and the left wing of the smaller landlords that initiated the revolution of 1646, it was the Puritans themselves that kidnaped the King and held him. It was they who were pushing for parliamentary democracy. Such an advanced program was not to be proposed until 200 years later in that country under a more well developed bourgeoisie and a developing proletariat. The parliamentary reform articulated in the "six points" of the Peoples Charter, the political program of the Chartism movement which began circa 1848: (1) Manhood Suffrage, (2) Vote by Ballot, (3) Equal Electoral Districts, (4) Payment of Members of Parliament, (5) Annual Parliaments, and (6) Abolition of Property Qualifications for Candidates, clearly outline a government based upon popular sovereignty. What was begun by the Puritans of the Seventeenth century finds historical continuity in the movements for parliamentary reform in the nineteenth century. What has been called the restoration represents a restoration of, in James' words:

> . . . .Charles I was executed (by the Puritans) and the monarchy was destroyed. In the familiar phrase, it was not monarchy but royalty which returned at the restoration. Monarchy in Britain was gone forever, destroyed by the religious democrats.[9]

The so-called "restoration," therefore, was a period in time when the British bourgeoisie continued its ascension to power, nurtured by a set of protective tariffs to insure their consolidation of national markets at home. The repeal of the "corn laws" in 1846 revealed a triumphant bourgeoisie disposing of the remaining remnants of feudal landlord power.

ii. The American Bourgeois Revolution

In the case of the Americas it seems as if the British bourgeoisie had exported its backwardness and it remained alive and well in the Caribbean and in the American south in the form of a semi-feudal plantation slave system of production tied to British industry. The American white merchant bourgeoisie of New England in its ascendency contending with the British white bourgeoisie of Old England for the products of Black slave labor and for profits from the slave trade itself; had to offer concessions to the Southern Planters in order to consolidate semi-bourgeois state power on this side of the Atlantic. They needed to erect protective tariffs to consolidate their national market and to break down "internal" tariffs and other protective measures designed to protect economic entities which were too small to nourish their developing industry and interests. The struggle between the supporters and the Articles of Confederation and the new semi-bourgeois constitution represents that struggle in the concrete.

With the continued development of the capitalist mode of production in Britain based upon textiles, the raw cotton for which was at first imported from India, produced by Indian peasant labor and slightly later imported from the United States, produced by Black slave labor; the southern part of the U.S. became more and more tied to British capital. The American State was taken away from the merchants and capitalists, if indeed they ever had possession of it at all, and wheeled by the southern slave owning plantocracy in its own interests. And so by 1863 in a revolutionary civil war we find a reluctant American bourgeoisie, being prodded on by a broad democratic movement with its most advanced sector being the slaves and the free Blacks, taking complete state power.

iii. The Bourgeois Revolution in France

But it was in the French bourgeois revolution of 1879 that we find the most abrupt and politically sharp of the democratic upheavals of this type. Michelet, the lucid French historian says of the new watch words of the revolution:

> *Rights* was the first thing to be spoken of at such a moment, it was rights that it was necessary to attest and claim for the people People had believed till then that they had only *duties*.[10]

He continued:

> The first word was uttered three days before the 14th of July and the taking of the Bastille; the last, a few days before the people brought the king to Paris (the 6th of October). A sublime apparition of right between two storms.[11]

The French bourgeoisie along with a relatively strong worker and peasant base stood in sharp opposition to the old order. French society had been transformed by the importation of goods and raw materials from their slave holding territories in the Caribbean and Louisiana and to some limited extent peasant and artisan produced goods from the Canadian territory. The French bourgeoisie was in trouble on the eve of its seizure of complete state power. Its northern North American holdings were being contested by an expanding new independent American merchant bourgeoisie. In its golden Caribbean colony, Santa Domingo, its feudal plantation caste system was showing signs of great instability as slave insurrections continued to disrupt production. And where Santa Domingo went so too went the Louisiana Territory under the pressure of an expanding southern plantocracy.

In the midst of all of this the French masses thrusted the bourgeoisie into power as the articulators of their rights. They sought "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," and pushed for the confiscation of the landed property of the rich. And in a fit of delirium the radical bourgeois democrats seeing themselves as the embodiment of the destiny of humankind demanded freedom for the Black slave.[12] On this general point Michelet has this to say:

> . . . .It was impossible to find too high a mountain whereon to fix the standard. It was necessary to place that flag, if possible, so high that the whole world might behold it, and that its tri-color streamer might rally the nations. Recognized as the common standard of humanity, it became invincible.[13]

After the Revolution was over and the delirium had passed, the French bourgeoisie was faced with the bleak fact that though they had state power at home they had lost or were losing most of their possessions in the western hemisphere. Britannia was master of the sea trade routes. This marked the ascension of the right wing of the new bourgeoisie and the French expansion and conquest within the European heartland itself. This is an important dimension to European continental history because we have seen something similar to this in the reflexive response of a frantic German bourgeoisie placed by history in a similar predicament in the first and second imperialist wars of the twentieth century.

The national bourgeoisies of France, Britain, and the United States were mobilizing the masses within their boundaries now to support their international greed. There were, however, internal conflicts and breaches revealing themselves within the democratic coalitions which opposed the feudal aristocracy. James says of the French Revolutionary bourgeois democratic movement:

> When the French Revolution was over and men had time to think, it was seen that the revolution of reason and the mighty struggle for liberty, equality, and fraternity had left men farther apart than ever before. Behind the formal equality before the law,(was)capitalist production..(and) the accumulation of wealth at one pole and misery, subordination and degradation at the other on a scale hitherto unknown. The universality of men, faith, hope, charity, honor, loyalty, humanism, liberty, equality, fraternity, democracy, these were(as) abstract to the mass of men as the heavens of the early Popes.[14]

The bourgeoisie was garnering all dimensions of the fruits of the revolution unto itself. James continues:

> These ideals had a certain existence among the ruling classes, but thinking man could see that the needs and deprivations of the excluded mass reacted with devastating effect upon the humanity of the rulers. The masses had tried to make the state a popular state. The result had been the creation of a monster such as had never been seen before and far surpassed in range and power the state of the absolute monarchy. [15]

Liberty, became liberty for the bourgeoisie. Justice became justice for the bourgeoisie. Fraternity became fraternity within the bourgeoisie and national chauvinism was used by and for the bourgeoisie.

iv. Bourgeois Democratic Upsurge

By the late 1840's and early 1850's in Europe there was a great democratic upsurge. It was primarily a drive for bourgeois democratic rights on the part of all anti-feudal classes. The European proletariat, still relatively young and not yet organized and disciplined by generations at the point of production, and politically underdeveloped yet semi-socialized by relatively large scale production particularly in Britain, began to make its bid for democratic rights.

A twentieth century Liberal British scholar says of the political upheaval:

> . . . .the transition to the new economy created misery and discontent, the materials of social revolution. And indeed, social revolution in the form of spontaneous risings of the urban and industrial poor did break out, and made the revolutions of 1848 on the Continent, the vast Chartism movement in Britain.[16]

He goes on to give us an appreciation of the scope of this eruption:

> . . . .Nor was discontent confined to the laboring poor. Small and adaptable businessmen, petty-bourgeois, special sections of the economy, were also the victims of the Industrial Revolution and of its ramifications. Simple-minded labourers reacted to the new system by smashing the machines which they thought responsible for their troubles; but a surprisingly large body of local businessmen and farmers sympathizedprofoundly withthese Luddite activities of their labourers, because they too saw themselves as victims of a diabolical minority of selfish innovators.[17]

Though the class nature of the scholarship shows through in this passage, it is instructive to demonstrate that capitalism in its drive toward industrial, finance, and monopoly left in its wake many broken merchants, yeoman, and members of the urban petit-bourgeoisie. This

is part of the process by which its opposite social force is created and its opposite mode of production is seeded within its belly.

V. European Mercantile Expansionism

As the European national bourgeoisies were being forced to extend rights to all sectors of their own societies which had already annexed Ireland in 1400, the British bourgeoisie was prying open a new market by its victory over the Sikhs in the Punjab completely subjugating India by 1849. By 1853 it had colonized Burma. China had begun to be openly penetrated in what had come to be called the first Opium War of 1841-42. There had been powerful resistance movements in these areas and constant rebellions announced the development of a new social force which was supporting cosmopolitan Europe which had not yet become metropolitan, with the products of its collective yet fragmented and scattered exploited labor. When the Taiping Rebellion took place in China, it greatly restricted the Chinese market for British goods. Its repercussions were felt through Europe and into the cotton fields in the southern United States. The world market, the creation of the modern bourgeoisie was indeed sensitive.

Struggles between the bourgeoisies of European and their own growing proletarians were sharpening and reached its most developed state in the Paris Commune of 1871. But by far the most powerful antagonisms that dominated the history of that period after bourgeois consolidation within a certain national or semi-national territory was the struggle to one national bourgeoisie at the head of a democratic and national chauvinistic expansionist movement against another national bourgeoisie. There was also significant sharp conflict of a national bourgeoisie against a merchant/feudal state formation or feudal state formation or against any people who happen to be in their way and who were at an earlier stage of political development. In short, this was the period of the consolidation and expansion of the present bourgeois national states, and of its internal political correlate, increasing material production within them economically along with its democratic rights to every possible sector of the population.

In the U.S. a vigorous northern based bourgeoisie was dislodging a backward plantocracy as it consolidated and expanded southward and

westward. The French were being beaten back in Europe, but was beginning to take up the slack by expansion into Indochina and into northern west and equatorial Africa. The omnipresent British bourgeoisie was everywhere. The German (Prussian) bourgeoisie was on the offensive in Europe and in Africa after a constitutional breakthrough in 1871. Other European national bourgeoisies began to take the initiative against feudalism within their borders along with an aroused people, in Italy, East Europe, including on the fringes of the bourgeois world. In the east a modern bourgeois state formation was taking place relatively unchallenged by any opposing national state in that region of the world. In Japan in 1868 the beginnings of bourgeois rule of a more conservative character emerged. Because of its influence by a long standing feudal residue, much like Germany in that regard, democratic rights never really became an integral part of Japanese bourgeois state power. This was due to the more limited extent to which the Japanese capitalist had surplus value to share with the other sectors of the population. There are also many other historically rooted factors that should be evaluated. They are however outside of the scope of this effort. Suffice it to say, that the Japanese constitution adopted on Feb. 11, 1889, looked very much like the Prussian Constitution (the first bourgeois German Constitution).[18]

This was the Europe about which Hegel wrote. This was the fluid and volatile Europe of which Marx and Engels put their analysis in its political economic dimensions. They saw and were part of the democratic upheavals taking shape within these national states. They saw the class struggle taking place within them both in their anti-feudal and anti-bourgeois character. They saw the larger more developed national states knocking heads and they were beginning to see the implications of the cosmopolitanization of Europe for the rest of the world. In a letter to Marx dated May 23, 1856 and posted to the heart of industrial Britain, Manchester, Engels wrote:

> . . . .Ireland may be regarded as the first English colony (of the imperialist epoch) and as one which because of its proximity is still governed exactly in the old way, and one can already notice here that the so-called liberty for English citizens is based on the oppression of the colonies. I have never seen so many gendarmes in any country, and the sodden

> look of the bibulous Prussian gendarme is developed to its highest perfection here among the constabulary, who are armed with carbines, bayonets and handcuffs.[19]

Frederick Engels saw that the consequences of cosmopolitan Europe realized themselves politically for all Europeans, but the historical consequences of metropolitan Europe were not a part of their times though it was already seeded even then.

II. The Rise of Proletarian Internationalism

The first three Internationals will be treated here as logical organizational formations that came to be the outgrowths of unfolding historical class and national relations within the world. Far too often developments and failures within these movements are regarded as the mistakes of individuals who have had influence within this or that meeting and managed to get their ideological point of view to become the basis of the policy that guided the movement for a certain amount of time. While this is not untrue, it is only phenomenological. The view or perspective of any grouping of human beings is circumscribed by their political and economic circumstances at any given moment in history.

The general proposition put forth here is that "Proletarian Internationalism" which refers to the international solidarity of working classes within the developing metropoles of Europe was a faulty formulation from the beginning. The bankruptcy of the category has been repeatedly revealed in the history of its attempted application.

In this particular section of this presentation we will be looking at the European working classes. What they were doing at certain points within the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is of critical historical significance. We will be looking at their changing position within the new global system of production and exchange in order to come to some conclusions about why they were doing what they were doing and what they said about what they were doing. This will be done within the general context of the classical scientific framework outlined by Karl Marx.

Classical revolutionary social science says that, inside the national state fashioned by an ascendent bourgeoisie there arose a class formation

which was created and nourished by the capitalist mode of production and which was the most essential class element within its relations of production. This class formation, according to classical Marxism, is supposed to be antithetical to the bourgeoisie, the ruling class under this social regime. The proletariat is socialized and disciplined by modern industrial production and will bring socialism to the world as it fulfills its historical destiny transforming the political and social order which will be politically revealed in its own class democratic dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This proletariat is not an exploiter class. It has no national markets or other exploitative interests to protect and therefore, no real interest in maintaining the nation state. The proletariat is, within the advanced nation states, it follows, a truly international liberating force. That is the formulation loosely stated. Let us examine it.

The initial gross movements of a not yet fully formed European proletariat, as can be plainly seen, was tied hand and glove to the movement for bourgeois democratic rights within the bourgeois national states. It was not until the Parisian insurrection of June 1848[20] that an overt armed clash between the European bourgeoisie and the European proletariat actually took place. At this point the bourgeoisie had state hegemony within only two nation states; France and Britain. They were, however, in most of eastern Europe on the verge of taking state power. It was in the context of this wave of bourgeois democratic activity on the part of workers, which was a struggle for a better life against the wretched conditions that were then characteristic of their class position, that the first International was born.

The late 1840's was a time of sharp class struggle throughout Europe. In Britain which had the oldest and most highly developed bourgeoisie, the Chartism movement was beginning to wrench from the bourgeoisie certain reform political rights for the proletariat. Additionally, the first trade union movement was beginning to struggle for certain economic benefits that the rulers of England could by then grant since they were now exploiting portions of the Americas, Asia and Africa. In France, the bourgeoisie could not do the same, since they were on the defensive in the rest of Europe and in the Americas. That is why the June 1848 insurrection on the part of the proletariat was sharply anti-bourgeois. The continued development of essentially these same

forces, of course, led the Parisian workers to the formation of the Paris Commune some twenty-two years later. There were not very many economic crumbs from the capitalist table in France in those days. In Germany a well developed intelligentsia was being gagged by a backward autocracy still in power as the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were struggling for more democracy. In America, a democratic coalition was being formed under the class hegemony of a new, but powerful bourgeoisie with its stronghold in the northeastern part of the United States. This coalition including a Euro-American Proletariat aimed to dislodge a stubborn plantocracy.

During the period from 1845 to 1864 there existed several small working class political organizations which had some aspects of internationalism as part of their outlook. The Society of Fraternal Democrats headed by Julian Harney was formed in London in 1845 and was made up of exiles of the anti-feudal democratic struggle from the more backward areas of Europe who had come to England. Another more purely proletarian organization sprang up in Germany. It was called the Communist League and regarded itself as a secret workingmen's association. At its first congress held in London in November of 1847 the organization commissioned Karl Marx and Frederick Engels to draft its theoretical position document and program. The document later came to be known as the *Communist Manifesto.* Still another organization existed in England, a little later during the 1850's. The International Committee under the leadership of Ernest Jones[21] proved to be yet another political fighting formation, again for the democratic rights of workers. Although these particular organizational entities were short lived, with the German Communist League dissolving in 1848, they proved to be the harbinger to things to come. It was not until 1864 that the International Workingmen's Association emerged as the logical outgrowth of economic crisis and of considerable mass democratic upheaval. The economic crisis of 1857 was the most severe and far-reaching breakdown that capitalism had yet experienced. It was engendered by instability within a still relatively young world market and the scope of its repercussions were no less global. Sharp and dramatic struggle erupted within the, then peripheral, capitalist world. In China the Taiping rebellion was in full flower. In Italy an insurrectionary young bourgeoisie was making its bid for power as

Austria and French Imperialist interests were weakened in the process. In the United States, Black slave produced cotton was being taken away from the ever hungry English textile mills in order to be used for the continued development of an internal metropole within the northeastern part of that country. The American Revolutionary-Civil War of 1861 was very much a part of the international democratic upheaval of that period.

The consequences of these events traveled straight to the heart of cosmopolitan France and Britain, with their bulging communities of political exiles. Within those two countries the comparative economic picture was quite different between the years 1848 and 1864, the latter year being the year of the founding of the First International. In France, a younger less developed bourgeoisie was not extracting anywhere near the amount of surplus from its own working class, or from its territories for conquest and/or penetration outside of its national boundaries, that a relatively well developed British bourgeoisie was effectively extracting at the time. In addition, the French right bourgeoisie was being pushed back in continental Europe by other democratic, as well as, reactionary forces. On the whole they were expanding in Asia and Africa and some internal industry was taking place, but their rate of expansion was substantially less than that of the marauder British capitalists..

The political situation mirrored the economic disparity. By December of 1851 Louis Bonapart had control of the army, police, the administrative apparatus, and had proclaimed himself Emperor ushering in The Second Empire of ultra-right French bourgeois rule in France. Of the Second Empire Marx wrote:

> . . . .The Second Empire began the exploitation of France by a gang of political and financial adventurers, but at the same time also an industrial development such as had never been possible under the narrow-minded and timorous system of Louis Philippe, with the exclusive domination of only a small section of the big bourgeoisie. Louis Bonaparte took the political power from the capitalist under the pretext of protecting them, the bourgeois, from the workers, and on the other hand the workers from them; but in return his rule encouraged speculation and industrial activity-in a word, the

> upsurgence and enrichment of the whole bourgeoisie to an extent hitherto unknown[22].

The Empire took France into war after being in power some nine years which led to the collapse of the dictatorship of the right bourgeoisie and the restoration of the Republic so that the fight could continue against the foreign Prussian invaders. The bourgeoisie with its back to the wall armed the Parisian workers for the defense of national state sovereignty of France, and themselves capitulating leaving only the armed workers to continue the fight. The bourgeoisie proclaimed peace, united with the foreigners in an attempt to disarm the workers which met with stiff opposition leaving the Parisian laboring masses no other alternative, but to proclaim the Paris Commune. What began as a war of an imperialist nature on the first of September 1870 resulted in the opening up of the society and the restoration of bourgeois democracy. An attempt at the usurpation of these rights pushed the proletariat to the establishment of its own class rule. And of course the resultant repression led to the dismantling of that type of state formation.

In Britain the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was no where near as sharp as it was in France owing to a number of factors; principle among them was the fact that the English bourgeoisie was able to meet most of the political and economic demands of its national working class. It is significant that the demands won by the working class and put forth by the First International were granted first in Britain and later in other nation states. The Trotskyist, George Novack writes of the achievements of the First International:

> The International scored its first signal success in the fight its members led for the reform of the franchise in England. . . .
> . . . .The International members led a vigorous campaign for progressive labor legislation. They demanded a shorter working day; condemned night work and all forms of labor they thought harmful to women and children. . . .
> . . . .The International stimulated trade-union organization in many countries. It also sought to raise the political level of the trade-union movement and make its members conscious of their historical mission.[23]

It can be easily seen that the dominant form of working class struggle consisted of various attempts at certain economic and democratic reforms. That was as it should be. Only in France did reform turn into revolution. In France under those conditions it could do nothing else.

Within the orbit of the International which was during some practical organizational work consisting primarily of propaganda and trade-union activity, there was much theoretical debate. In a very real sense, the International Workingmen's Association(IWA) served as an international forum to the extent that it included most of the European "advanced" nation states, for the exchange of theoretical formulations among radical intellectuals. Karl Marx was one of them. The ideological struggle of the various tendencies operative within the IWA led to the characterization of those whose position was articulated by Karl Marx as "the Marxists." There were, however, other spokesmen who were articulating other views, and there seemed to be a geo-political pattern that might be fruitful to look at.

In Germany the trade union movement was still relatively weak. They, therefore, did not participate directly within the IWA, but there were various Marxist groupings that did. German trade-unionism was locked in a ideological battle between the old guard followers of Lassalleanism, and a growing Marxist tendency. The Lassalleans advocated a program of worker cooperatives which were to be subsidized by bourgeois governments. They opposed militant trade-union activities such as strikes even for democratic rights and higher wages.

In France and Belgium, the Proudhonist had virtual ideological hegemony. They spoke of the creation of "free association" of workers' mutualist organizations, which would become a gradual and voluntary substitute for the nation state. Along with this kind of utopian formulation they put forth certain monetary reforms. They repudiated strikes and activist political trade-unionism. The clash of classes and the historical role of the working class in the political transformation of capitalist society was not a part of their view.

But it was from Italy that the strongest ideological challenge to "the Marxist" came. Michael Bakunin, the Russian Anarchist exile who came to Italy in 1864, became even a more influential political figure than the great bourgeois nationalist leader, Mazzini. Bakunin took up

the basic formulations of Proudhan, added to them a conspiratorial motif, gave his blessings to workers strikes as "minor insurrections" and called for all of the dispossessed to rise up against the state and religion. This view was filled with ill-conceived ahistorical notions that did not include the central role of the working class or any conception of progressive proletarian state control. The gradual development and maturity of the class forces within the capitalist mode of production played no part within the ideological perspective of this tendency.

In the most well developed bourgeois nation state of them all, Britain, the IWA was tacitly tolerated by an emerging set of fat labor aristocrats. William Z. Foster, the leader of the American Communist Party during the 1950's explains the situation in this manner:

Generally, the British union leaders were not very active in the International; they never made such determined efforts to capture the organization as was done by the Proudhonists and Bakuninists. As a rule, they only weakly attended the various IWA congresses and they rather passively accepted their resolutions. Their "pure and simple" trade union approach to questions before the IWA was a conservative drag upon the organization. . . . . They did not like Marx's demand for the freedom of Ireland, and they came to a crisis with the IWA over the Paris Commune.[24]

On the general composition of the unions in Britain, Foster informs us that:

> . . . .These leaders (Trade-union leaders), under the enervating effects of rapidly developing capitalism, had longsince lost the revolutionary spirit of the fighting Chartists of a generation earlier. Their unions were composed chiefly of skilled workers, the new labor aristocracy and at that time capitalism looked pretty acceptable to these favored elements.[25]

There are many things that can be said about the overall historical essence of the First International. It appeared to be an organizational formation with two large wings. The right appeared to be unmistakably bound to the continued expansion of the most reactionary sector of the bourgeoisie. It appeared to be born of the underdevelopment of genuine independent proletarian movement. In the periphery of the capitalist world of that day, the historical

tasks of the bourgeoisie and that of a weak proletariat were in harmony, for the most part. In the small center of the bourgeois world an energetic set of rulers were beginning to pass on the fruits of the exploitation within the periphery to a privileged grouping of workers. In the center there was some degree of independent struggle by an infantile proletariat but it was blunted by this process.

The Left wing, or "the Marxists" developed a realistic program of democratic struggle against the landed aristocracy and independent proletarian struggle against the ruling bourgeoisie where they ruled. But because of the objective fact that a growing sector of the working class in the relatively highly developed nation states were being granted privileged status relative to the rest of the world's population, a sector of workers and peasants within the capitalist periphery could be exploited as a part of a world-wide system of super-exploitation. And since this international system contained these exploited sectors of the laboring population which were by then being oppressed within their own undeveloped nations any receptivity between these working class sectors, at that point in history, with regard to a revolutionary program was extremely limited. The key to the progressive nature of the Marxist program was support for the revolutionary peoples' movements in such undeveloped countries as Ireland, Italy, Poland, China, and in the U.S. South, whose content was opposition to the principal Imperialist enemy at that time, the British bourgeoisie, and to some extent some of the lesser bourgeois classes of Europe.

With all of the ideological struggle within the IWA which was very limited regarding the number of European countries with active affiliates, it was the decisive intervention of the Parisian workers that settled these points of debate and by their action redefined independent proletarian struggle. It was their action as they formed the Paris Commune, more than any other single event, that led to the demise of the IWA. The majority within it could not live with or understand the nature of the historically concrete and decisively anti-bourgeois Paris Commune. A dwindling group of left "Marxists" correctly defended the Commune as a glimpse into the future. To them it was indeed the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." As a result of increasingly sharp ideological struggle the IWA became fragmented and was pronounced dead in 1878 in its New York headquarters.

Of the work of the IWA, Marx wrote in that same year:

> . . . . . .In reality the social-democratic workers parties in Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Holland and North America, organized more or less within national frontiers, represent just as many international groups, no longer isolated sections parsely distributed over various countries and held together by a General Council on the periphery, but rather the working-class itself in constant, active and direct connection, held together by the exchange of ideas, mutual assistance and joint aims. . .
> . . . . .Thus, far from dying out, the International has developed from one stage into another and higher one in which many of its original tendencies have already been fulfulled. During the course of this constant development it will experience many changes before the final chapter in its history can be written.[26]

III. The Second International

Eleven years passed between the death of the First International and the birth of the Second International. Many significant and important events took place within that relatively short period of time that turned out to be decisive in the shaping of the European working class movement.

Germany was developing a vigorous industrial economy and was making its bid within the world market as well as becoming a colonial power. Its working class too was beginning to demand political rights and economic privileges. In Germany a new struggle for bourgeois democracy was becoming sharper. In 1879 the infamous Anti-Socialist Law was passed in order to limit the German Social Democratic Party to parliamentary activity, and thereby suppressing a socialist left wing of effective agitators. Many reforms were forthcoming from the German Bourgeois table of plenty as the Social Democratic Party polled over a million and a half votes during the elections of 1890. Incidentally, that was the same year that the Anti-Socialist Law was repealed.

Of the moribund English working class movement, Engels wrote in a letter to Bebel, August 30, 1883:

> . . . .Participation in the domination of the world market was and is the basis of the political nullity of the English

> workers. The tail of the bourgeoisie in the economic exploitation of his monopoly but nevertheless sharing in its advantages, politically they are naturally the tail of the"great Liberal Party", which for its part pays them small attentions. . . . . ."[27]

But by 1889 a new wave of worker activity sprang forward. This time the unskilled working population wanted a piece of the action. In 1892 Engels was writing in a slightly different tone.

> . . . .That immense haunt of misery (the East End of London) is no longer the stagnant pool it was six years ago. It has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the "New Unionism", That is to say, of the organization of the great mass of "unskilled" workers.[28]

In spite of the fact that the British capitalists had lost their monopoly within the world market as other capitalists began to challenge them, the masses of the unskilled workers were able to rip off a few political rights and economic privileges for themselves. This wave of activity from the lower strata of English society, born of the initial unemployment and economic repercussions of this loss of world market monopoly, was the fertile soil from which emerged a number of political formations, among them the Social Democratic Federation and the idealist Fabian Society. Within the nation states of Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, and Italy, socialist and/or labor parties were being formed during the 1880's. In Russia and Finland socialist groups were also beginning to take shape. In France and in the U.S. socialist party formations were already in existence by 1880. In the latter, the struggle for the eight hour day was in full swing. With the conquest of the raw Black sharecropper produced cotton from the southern part of the U.S. and the denial of that same cotton to Britain, American textiles and other manufactured commodities began to seriously compete on the world market.

But perhaps the most decisive event to have occurred within this series of events was the opening up of a weakened and internally disrupted Africa as a consequence of the barbarous slave trade, signaled by the Berlin "bourgeois butcher's" conference of 1885. It affirmed that Africa's

labor power and natural resources as well as her markets were carved up among the bourgeois nation states. Each European capitalist nation state which had developed to the imperialist stage of expansion now had unchallenged economic sway within a portion of the African continent. Though there was continued tenacious resistance on the part of the peoples of Africa, it would prove to be only a matter of time before the richest continent in the world would be conquered and bulcanized for the purpose of effective exploitation by one European bourgeois nation state or another.

The penetration first took the form of unequal trading relationships. Later, along with the continuation of this exploitation by avaricious trading companies, a section of their operation began to be devoted to the actual production of the commodities. These same companies were involved in the sale and further elaboration of these same commodities within the metropoles themselves. It was simply more profitable. Within the agricultural sector plantation production units arose. Within the mineral sector extractive forced labor mining was the most frequently used production unit. Related construction for the transportation of commodities in roads, railways, and dockage was carried out by forced labor as well. It is a simple historical fact that the direct and indirect benefits that were derived from the enormous surpluses extracted in this manner accrued to all sectors of European society.[29]

Since production within the European colonizing nation state was directly linked with production within the African colony the historical consequences of this chain of events, of necessity, had to act back upon metropolitan society affecting the character and intensity of the class struggle and the potential of independent proletarian revolutionary activity.

By the time that the Second International was formed these politico-economic dynamics were already set into motion. What Engels had said in 1856 of the Irish colony— "that the so-called liberty of English citizens is based on the oppression of the colonies"—can in 1895 be said of the citizens of all imperialist European nation states, particularly with regard to the exploitaiton and oppression that they were so brutally carrying out in Africa, and to a lesser extent in Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America.

It is instructive to mention here that during this period of world plunder by white avaricious bourgeois nation states very little was said of the misery and of the suffering, at the level of the subjective, or the underdeveloping characteristic of such plunder, at the level of the objective, by European working class theoreticians with the possible exceptions of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. But in a real sense, no substantial movement in opposition to the expansionist policies of these helmsmen of the European nation states was evident.

Without a doubt, the Second International was hamstrung from its inception by reformism for its own sake and many other generalized collaborationist formulations based upon the material reality which has already been described. These ideas were an inseparable part of the dominant tendency, with few exceptions, throughout its history as an organizational formation.

The Second International(SI) was launched, as an organization, at the Centennial Celebration of the Bourgeois Revolution in France of 1889 at the International Exhibition held in Paris by the French Government. In fact, the French rulers sanctioned two different international working class gatherings. One was initiated by the German Socialists and the French Guesdistes and the other was made up and put together by some English Trade unionists and the French Possibilists. [30] The former proved to be the most viable mechanism for the kind of militant reform that the dominant tendency within it advocated.

The debate on the floor of the First Congress of the SI centered around two inter-related resolutions that were reduceable to one theoretical proposition: What is the role of reform within a revolutionary struggle? Within an intra-metropolitan situation this is a question of great tactical and theoretical significance and in a real sense defines the potential of such a struggle from one period to the next. This of course, by extension, has implications for the relations between the internal metropolitan struggle, i.e. between the capitalist and proletariat within and between nations states at the epi-centers of capitalism; and the struggle within underdeveloped and oppressed nations as well as between these nations of the capitalist periphery, taken as a whole, and the metropoles. But let us not here go any further with that, except to describe some of the aspects of the

ideological struggle that took place within the Second International.

At the first Congress different perspectives emerged with regard to the relationship between the struggle for socialism and labor legislation. On the one hand, an ultra-left anarchist tendency opposed parliamentary action on the grounds that it was reformist and reform and revolution were seen as incompatible forms of struggle emerged during the debate. They advocated terrorism and exhalted the general strike. And on the other hand, a right opportunist tendency emerged. They viewed parliamentary reform as the goal of the labor movement. They were either skeptical about socialism or they regarded the gradual reform road to socialism as desirable. There was, however, a third tendency the "Marxists" who took the position that reform parliamentary action was merely a tactical question. They saw struggle for reform, parliamentary or otherwise, as a means by which workers' consciousness of their independent role in capitalist society would be enriched. Reform, for them, was a means by which the workers could open up the society or cause the capitalist to close them off, depending upon whether or not their reform demand could be granted within the context of metropolitan bourgeois society. Many of these reforms could indeed be granted because of the exploitation of peoples outside the metropolitan national boundaries of the imperialist nation state in question. But to the extent that imperialism itself was in crisis, the reform option will be closed off and the workers will have no other choice but to carry forth a revolutionary struggle such as that which happened in France resulting in the emergence of the Paris Commune.

These, more or less, were the essentials of the argument of the Left forces within the Second International. It was not until the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century that the propositions contained within it would be elaborated by Lenin. At the earlier Congresses, however, the ideological position was undeveloped and only existed in embryonic form. By and large, absolutely no comprehension of the privileged position of the metropolitan working class manifested itself as part of the over-riding ideology of the SI. Blinded by ideological myopia, born of its own privilege, resulting in rank national and international white chauvinism, the SI sputtered and floundered from the beginning and abdicated in the end.

At the First Paris Congress a program of labor legislation was outlined within a series of resolutions and a specific endorsement of

the struggle for the eight-hour day carried on by the American opportunist craft union movement, lead by the AFL, was decided upon. In the Second Congress in London in 1896 rules were drafted excluding those who were in disagreement with parliamentary activity either as a goal in itself or as a tactical consideration. The Social Democratic parties and the trade unionists were by then firmly in control of the politics of the international organization. From this moment on, active trade union parliamentary reformism was to be the hallmark of the Second International.

The pronouncements of the 1904 Amsterdam Congress, not with standing, the reformist stance of many of the delegations remained a central feature of the SI, especially in the case of the delegates from the most advanced capitalist nation states. Within German Social Democracy the blatant class collaborationist reformism of Eduard Bernstein had given away to a crypto-reformism espoused by Bebel and Kautsky which began to speak of a peaceful road to socialism even though socialism was to be a different mode of production. Karl Kautsky was the principal proponent of a subtle form of peaceful transition to socialism that could be achieved within metropolitan society precisely because of the privileged position of the working class within those state boundaries. It was against this brand of rampant opportunism, that laid bare before the world- with the wholesale abdication of SI affiliates to the side of their own bourgeoisie- when the First Imperialist World War broke out, that V.I. Lenin directed his ideological polemic, *The State and Revolution* and his analytical, political, economic classic, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism* in 1917 and 1916 respectively.

Lenin and the Russian Social Democrats proved to be a staunch resolute left force within the SI. They were able to do this not only because of the backwardness of the Russian Tsarist feudal regime against which they had struggled for decades, but because of the historic example of the 1905 Russian revolution which was rich in ideological and tactical lessons. It had been thirty-five years since the emergence of the Paris Commune of 1871 when this massive upheaval of the oppressed nations held captive within Russia along with the many other progressive strata of the society, under the class leadership of the relatively small and new industrial proletariat, brought new life and sharp concrete meaning to revolutionary socialist

theory. The upsurge was, in part, a popular revolt against the Russo-Japanese War. It sent shock waves throughout metropolitan Europe as Russia was peripheral to the European metropolitan capitalism that characterized that period.

Trotsky describes; the reverberation of the 1905 Russian Revolution in England, and in the rest of Europe:

> . . . . In England it hastened the formation of an independent labour party. In Austria, thanks to special circumstances, it led to universal manhood suffrage. In France the echo of the Russian Revolution took the form of Syndicalism, which gave expression, in inadequate practical and theoretical form, to the awakened revolutionary tendencies of the French proletariat. And in Germany the influence of the Russian Revolution showed itself in the strengthening of the young Left wing of the party, in the rapprochement of the leading Centre to it, and in the isolation of Revisionism. [31]

Within the left wing of the Russian Social Democratic movement, the Bolsheviks, the concrete relationship between Imperialist War and Civil War could be established. In fact, it had already been established in the streets by a massive insurrectionary civil thrust, in response to an Imperialist War. This and other corollary formulations would prove indispensible in charting an ideologically clear, straight, and accurate course through the stormy waters of the First Imperialist War.

Central to the tactical question of support or non support of one great national bourgeoisie or another, especially in times of imperialist war, is the set of formulations relative to the national and/or colonial question that arose within this context.

Stuttgart provided the site for the 1907 Congress at which an overt social chauvinist right wing fought bitterly for its out-and-out collaborationist policies. For example, Bernstein put forth in debate on the colonial question, a curiously racist proposition. He overtly suggested that the inhabitants of underdeveloped nations were like children and should be dominated because they were incapable of developing themselves[32], and that after socialism was achieved in metropolitan Europe it would become necessary to colonize third world nations in order to help them in their development. At this same congress some American delegates were pushing for the institution of

legislation within the American Senate and House of Representatives placing severe limitations upon the immigration of Chinese labourers into "civilized" America in the spirit of white internationalism.[33] White supremacy and chauvinism was there in force.

The Stuttgart Congress proved to be a bizarre scene where a dwindling left was trying to hold things together merely at the rhetorical level—in the face of growing right opportunism. Then there was the problem of the commitment to and the execution of the agreed upon program after the helpless left forces prevailed by a very narrow margin in a badly split international floor debate. Part and parcel of this blatant right opportunist push was the demand that the trade unions be neutral in their relationship to the political programs of the social democratic parties. This was an obvious ploy to insure that the economic nature of trade union demands be forever separate from the political demands of the parties—clearing the way for economism and anarcho-syndicalism. On this issue, but in the arena of the concrete movement of historical events, the victory in rhetorical debate proved to be hollow indeed.

On the heels of the October 1912 outbreak of the Balkan War an Extraordinary International Socialist Congress was convened in Balse on November 24-25 of that same year. Twenty-three countries were represented by 555 delegates. The purpose of the gathering of working class leaders from all over the capitalist world was the demonstration of international working-class opposition to the impending Imperialist War. The unanimously approved Balse Manifesto restated the adopted policy from both the 1907 Stuttgart and the 1910 Copenhagen Congresses of using the political crisis created by Imperialist War to fement Revolutionary Civil War for the overthrow of capitalism. Drawing upon the historic examples of the Paris Commune which emerged in the midst of the Franco-Prussian War and the Russian Revolution of 1905 consequent to the Russo-Japanese War, the manifesto argued that Imperialist World War would be met by popular revolt of the European proletariat. The manifesto was a powerful pronouncement.

As the events of this period, unfolded most of the Third International proved themselves to be on the side of national and international white chauvinism as they capitulated one after another. So that by the time that the war became a material fact the SI was a mere shell of its

former self. Even among the Bolshevik organization itself, the most consistently revolutionary of the socialist internationalists, there was a great many defections. In Paris, two members of the Committee of Organizations Abroad which served as the center of all Bolshik activities outside Russia, joined the French Army.[34] The committee dissolved and communications between the organization inside Russia and the Central Committee Bureau were cut off. Not only did the Second International collapse but the phenomenal rate of defections played havoc with the Bolshevik party itself.

The logic of Lenin on this matter is convincing:

> The Socialists of the whole world solemnly declared in 1912, in Balse, that they considered the coming European war a "criminal" and reactionary undertaking of *all* the governments, an undertaking which must hasten the breakdown of capitalism by inevitably generating a revolution against it. The war came; the crisis was there. Instead of revolutionary tactics, the majority of the Social Democratic parties followed reactionary tactics, siding with their govenments and their respective bourgeoisies. This betrayal of Socialism means the collapse of the Second (1889-1914) International. We must make clear to ourselves the causes of that collapse, the reasons for the birth and growth of social-chauvinism.[35]

Of the economic basis of right opportunism, his logic led him to conclude that:

> The economic basis of opportunism and social-chauvinism is the same; the interest of an insignificant layer of privileged workers and petty bourgeoisie receives from robbing other nations from the advantages of its position as a great nation.[36]

The first Imperialist War affirmed that what the imperialists had peacefully done at the 1885 Berlin Conference table could only be done by sending their armies into the trenches in 1914; armies with the petit-bourgeoisie as its commissioned officers, the skilled workers as its non-commissioned officers and the unskilled worker as its enlisted man. The Second International perished there within those trenches.

Notes

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27. Novack, et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 46.
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29. Rodney, *op, cit.*, pp. 219-220.
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CHAPTER 2

The Comintern and Black Internationalism

I. European Nation States and Colonialism After the First Imperialist World War

As " the war to end all wars" came to a close some of the weaker, younger less developed imperialist nation states were knocked out of contention in the dog eat dog world of international capitalism. This new alignment of production and market relations stimulated the economies of the nation states whose industries physically escaped damage. These economies expanded and flourished. However, in the case of France the situation was slightly differnt. While the French sector as well as the rest of the continental industrial complex was damaged by the ravages of war, it proved relatively easy to repair. By 1922, the output of such basic heavy industrial materials as iron, coal, and steel, along with other critical manufactures dramatically increased. Additionally, railroad mileage was greater than in the pre-war year of 1912.

This remarkable recovery and expansion of the continental metropolitan imperialist infrastructure was in substantial measure due to the monstrous surpluses being extracted from French north, west and equatorial Africa; Madagascar, Indochinese colonial territories and the Caribbean possessionons. And, of course, the Belgiums were expropriating gigantic profits in the heartland of continental Africa.

For the English the process of colonial exploitation was greatly accelerated and intensified procisely because their industry was left untouched. Only in the area of communication was the British metropolitan imperial infrastructure—the material consequence of more than three hundred years of world plunder—damaged to any great extent. At war's end most of the German colonial territories fell into the hands of the British bourgeoisie one way or another. They were, indeed, in a good position.

Although the victorious western capitalist classes depended upon the continued exploitation of their own proletariat in the recovery and further capital intensive, industrial expansion and overall development

of metropolitan society, the fundamental ingredient in this process was colonial underdevelopment. For an exposition of some of the mechanics of this historical dynamic as it operated within the African continent during this period, the clear dialectical logic of Walter Rodney is exceedingly instructive:

> ...The employer (of African labor) under colonialism paid an extremely small wage—a wage usually insufficient to keep the worker physically alive—and, therefore, he had to grow food to survive. This applied in particular to farm labour of the plantation type, to work in mines and to certain forms ofurban employment. At the time of the imposition of European colonial rule, Africans were able to gain a livelihoodfrom the land. Many retained some on tact with the land in the years ahead, and they worked away from their *shambas* in order to pay taxes or because they were forced todo so. After feudal-ism in Europe had ended, the worker had absolutely no means of sustenance other than through the sale of his labour to capitalists. There fore to some extent the employer was responsible for ensuringthe physical survival of the worker by giving him a "living wage". In Africa, this was not the case. Europeans offered the lowest possible wages and relied on legislation backed by force to do the rest.[1]

At the level of production we see that the metropolitan capitalist did not even have to pay his African labour force a subsistence wage. And since such huge surpluses were expatriated from Africa its social consequences could not result in a more developed society for Africans.

In the concrete, Rodney then deduces:

> .....The Ugandan famer grew cotton which ultimately made its way into an English factory in Lancashire or a British-owned factory in India. The Lancashire factory owner paid his workers as little as possible, but this xploitation of their labour was limited by several actors. His exploitation of the labour of the Ugandan peasant was unlimited because of his power in the colonial state which ensured that Ugandans worked long hours for very little.[2]

At the level of exchange within the international market, one way in which the process realized itself, Rodney informs us is:

> ....The differences between the prices of African exports of raw materials and their importation of manufactured goods consttuted a form of unequal exchange. Throughout the colonial period, this inequality in exchange got worse. Economists refer to the process as one of deteriorating terms of trade.[3]

Of the consequences of the accumulation and proliferation of such surpluses to and within the metropolitan world, in general, and the impact of them upon the living conditions and resultant struggle of the white metropolitan working classes, in particular, Rodney has this to say:

> ....The bribe (of the metro workers by their bourgeoisies) came in the form of increased wages, better working conditions, and expanded social services. The benefits of colonialism were diffused throughout European society in many ways. Most capitalist enterprises offered consumer goods which were mass-produced at low prices, and therefore the European housewife got some relief....colonialism was serving all classes and sectors of Western Europe and other capitalist metropoles.[4]

This was the means by which Europe was able to recover so rapidly after the war. Symptomatic of the capital intensive expanding French economy and the successful "bribery" of the working class during the recovery period from 1919 to 1922 was a dramatic reduction in the level of strike activity. Table I makes that comparison. What is also very clear from this table is the fact that the level of strike activity on the part of French workers had been almost reduced to the pre-war level. Before the war the French Imperialist machinery was running smoothly during that period in time the best that the French workers could come up with was reformist anarcho-syndicalism. That tendency arose from the desire of unskilled workers to be included within the metropolitan "bribery" process.

TABLE I[5]

Number of Strike Days as a Function of Number of Unionized Workers in France

Year	Number of Unionized Workers	Strike Days
1913	220,448	2,223,781
1919	2,111,242	18,110,353
1920	1,462,228	24,247,132
1921	451,854	8,047,742
1922	300,583	3,197,619

Undoubtly much of this diminshed activity was the result of the split within the large and powerful Confederation Generale du Travail (C.G.T.) in July of 1921. But that part of the ebbing of the sharp class struggle that was part of the French scene in 1919[6] as a result of the stabilization of the economy through the process outlined above by 1922.

II. American Imperialism in the Western Hemisphere

In the United States, unchallenged in the western hemisphere, the war stimulated an increase in the already phenomenal industrial development. Of the penetration of the new brand of American imperialism, at the level of production, in the Caribbean and Latin America and other areas within the western hemisphere George Beckford has this to reveal:

> ....The banana plantations of Honduras, Guatemala, CostaRica,Panama, and Colombia were established as a result of investments of two large United States fruit companies—United Fruit and Standard Fruit and Shipping Company...More directly linked to the new United States was the expansion of the sugar plantation industries of the Phillipines, Hawaii, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. After the Spanish-American War all the countries named eventually came under United States control and their sugar industries mushroomed as a result of the inflow of capital from that country.

> Between 1898 and 1900, for example, $50 million (U.S.) issaid to have been invested in Cuban sugar.[7]

Beckford goes on to inform us that:

> Cuba secured constitutional independence but became an economic colony of the United States. Political control over its colonies (Phillipines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico) provided the security for these plantation investments...Data for Puerto Rico show that whereas in 1909 there were forty-eight mills of less that $5000 capital investment and only three of more that $5,000,000 by 1919 there were none in the lower category and thirty-two in the higher (most of these being over $1 million). Investment in individually owned sugar mills moved from $1.3 to $3.3 million between the two dates while that of corporate mills moved from $13.1 to $45.9 million.[8]

The American imperialist had already begun to embark upon a course of slick neo-colonialism which was, in fact, the harbinger of a tactic by which European bourgeois society would maintain itself during the middle part of the twentieth century. Beckford tells of its historic beginnings within two Black constitionally independent republics—one in the Caribbean and the other on continental Africa.

> ....Although sugar had been produced during and after the French colonial period in Haiti, it was during the American occupation of this century between 1915 and 1934 that modern centrals and plantations were developed. The U.S. government set the stage for the penetration of American capital by its repeal of a Haitian law which forbade the ownership of land by foreigners. And so much of the scarce coastal lands came to be owned by U.S. plantation corporations. In Liberia, the U.S. government provided the necessary assistance which gave the Firestone Rubber Company a foothold in that country and led to the establishment of company plantations there in the 1920's.[9]

This explains some of the characteristics of U.S. imperialist expansion during and after the First Imperialist War.

Another feature of this organic expansion directly attributable to

the War production and markets as well as to the War itself can be found in the area of finance leading to an over-strengthening of American foreign exchange. The dollar became the new world standard currency as the center of international finance capital shifted from London to New York. The European Allies had accumulated a combined debt of over $10 billion to the U.S.[10] As a consequence the British pound sterling dipped to one fifth its pre-war value relative to the dollar. The German mark became almost worthless.

Internally the War time and post war economic boom altered, to some extent, the exploitative class and oppressed national configuration within the U.S. The African labor which was held in the most backward sector of the textile industry by Jim Crow laws was now needed in the rapidly advancing light industrial sectors of the Northern region. The heavy industrial heartland shifted to the Mid-west and began bursting at its seams. Steel, rubber, petroleum, iron, and glass came together in the automobile which became the new industrial "staple." The world was indeed a new place.

III. The European Context of the Comintern

But what of the economies of the defeated imperialist powers of Europe as well as those that lanquished on the fringes of the international capitalist system or were relegated to that position by the war? In vanquished Germany cut off from colonial exploitation and burdened by heavy reparation demands the economy was in shambles. A German working class unable to tear itself away from mere social democratic reforms under the leadership of the German Social Democrats—fat with liberal national chauvinism from colonial days—proved unable to drive the mass upheavals of 1919 forward toward a revolutionary transformation of the society. Braunthal, in an attempt to answer why this happened, reiterates:

> ...In the last resort it was because the German Social Democrats did not enter the revolution as a revolutionary party. The vast majority of their leaders and of their mass membership had long since ceased to think in revolutionary terms and they were thus mentally quite unprepared for the

tasks of revolution.[11]

In an indictment of the European working class leadership he continues in this manner:

> ...The German Social Democrats did not become a reformist party on 4 August 1914 (the beginning of the war); in reality they had become a reformist party long before—at least as reformist as the British Labour party, and indeed all other Socialist parties of Europe—except the Bolsheviks...[12]

With all of the fragmentation that came within the period of 1918-1923 it was clear that in Germany the leadership of the working class could not see beyond bourgeois reform. In 1919 the small sect which was then the Communist Party of Germany under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and others like Clara Zitkin, and Paul Levi, though true to the Bolshevik principle of turning the Imperialist War into Civil War had no significant mass support and experienced great repression during this time, after a split within their own leadership.

By 1923 due to this splitting and fragmentation process the German Communist Party was numerically more significant. They by then had the blessings of a Third International(the Comintern) and had within their ranks 225,000 members[13] as a result of activity in response to the French occupation of the industrial heartland of Germany, the Ruhr, in January of 1923. With the industrial heart ripped out of it, the floor fell from under the German mark. By August of that year it registered at an unbelievable 4.6 million to the American dollar and falling. By November it had plummeted to a phenomenal 4.2 trillion to the dollar.[14] France and Belgium were indeed continuing their respective post-war recoveries.

Within all this a revolutionary situation once again appeared to present itself, but the hegemony of a social democratic program once again carried the day. When the tide had ebbed the German bourgeoisie has stabilized itself in power with the help of the Dawes Plan which resulted in the mortgaging of German industry and railroads in order to insure the payment of the indemnities of the victorious allies. The French occupational forces left in 1925 with industry firmly in the hands of a

still powerful bourgeoisie cut off from its colonies but determined to recover and expand. It did both by an appeal to the latent national chauvinism contained within the working class as a result of material privileges that it received during its colonial days. In fact the German bourgeoisie would rely upon these same sentiments as part of its efforts to isolate the leadership of a divided left while it mobilized the German masses in a frenzy of national chauvinism in a war of colonial expansion as it went upon a rampage throughout Europe less than two decades later.

IV. The Russian Revolution and the Rise of the Comintern

1919-1920 were the years that mass revolutionary movement on the capitalist periphery became an historical reality. In Ireland, Italy, and Hungary upheavals punctuated the times within the underdeveloped parts of Europoe. In this regard the Russian Revolution of 1917 is of great importance because it was from this more than any other single event that the founding of the Third International, the Comintern, in March of 1919 stemmed. But it was not until 1920 at its Second Congress that its strength and progammatic direction became significant and clear.

The history of the Comintern, cannot be separted from Russian foreign policy which is nothing more than an extension of its domestic policies for internal development from the time that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik Party) ascended to power. With the creation of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic(U.S.S.R.) by the Communist Party(C.P.S.U.) the international working class movement became identical with the maintainence of the Soviet state. The Comintern was the political embodiment of this set of policies.

Key to an understanding of these policies is the fact that the Bolsheviks were the main-stay within the left of the Second International. Because Russia was a backward feudal Tsarist state, Lenin's "party of the proletariat" was part of the social democratic movement within that nation. Bolsheviks differed with the remainder of the Social Democrats with regard to how it was that social democracy would come to Russia. They thought, rightly, that it would be the proletariat which would do that.

i. The Comintern and the Nation Question

Since Russia was the prison house of nations, since it had one foot in feudalism and the other in capitalism, one foot in Europe the other in Asia, one metropolitan and other peripheral, one white and the other non-white, one in the developed world and the other in the underdeveloped world; her radical leaders were forced to deal with all of the contradictions that would characterize the epoch, within their struggle for socialism. This is the context from which Lenin emerged. His *Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism* laid the basis for his many formulations on "the National Question" which were advanced as matters of policy within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.) and the Comintern itself. These basic formulations are contained within the Report of the Commission on National And the Colonial Questions to the Second Congress of the Comintern on July 26, 1920. The report states in part:

> First, what is the cardinal idea underlying our theses? It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. Unlike the Second International and bourgeois democracy, we emphasise the distinction. In this age of imperialism, it is particularly important for the proletariat and the Communist International to establish the concrete economic facts and to proceed from concrete realities, not from abstract postulates, in all colonial and national problems.[15]

The commission contained several representatives from colonial struggles—most prominent among them was M.N.Roy, the Indian communist who read the supplementary thesis of the report. Within the commission, debate was sharp and the resolution was principled. On the question of whether or not it was necessary or inevitable for a pre-capitalist backward nation to pass through a capitalist stage of development in order to be transformed into socialism, unanimous agreement was reached upon the following position:

> .....If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, (colonies), and the Soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal—in that event it would be mistaken to assume

> that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development. Not only should we create independent contingents of fighters and party organizations in the colonies and the backward countries, not only at once launch propaganda for the organization of peasants' Soviets and strive to adapt them to the pre-capitalist conditions, with the appropriate theoretical grounding, that with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage.[16]

Here the uncrystallized left forces within the Comintern were attempting to make what Lenin had stated previously, just after the breakup of the Second International, an organic reality. At that time he warned:

> ....The proletariat cannot remain silent on the question of the *frontiers* of a state founded on national oppression, a question so "unpleasant" for the imperialist bourgeoisie. The proletariat-must struggle against the enforced retention of oppressed nations within the bounds of the given state, which means that they must fight for the right to self-determination. The prole tariat mustde-mand freedom of political separation for the colonies and nations oppressed by "their own" nation. Otherwise, the internationalism of the proletariat would be nothing but empty words...[17]

The success of the Comintern depended upon whether or not concrete linkages would be established and revolutionary activity could be carried out in what came to be known as the "third world." The Chinese Revolution and the beginnings of revolutionary activity in China and Indochina as well as the rest of Asia along with the movements throughout the Pan-African world—i.e. Clement Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Union in Azania, The Garvey Movement in the United States and the remainder of the Pan-African world, Simon Kimbangu in the Congo, Harry Thuku- in Kenya, the peasants of Rwanda and the French Congo, the market women of Abba in Nigeria, the railway strikes in Sierra Leone, the seaman of Gambia, Hahilara in Sierra Leone, the oil field workers of Zimbabwe, naming a few

occurring in the post-war period—affirmed that the revolutionary initiative had shifted.

In Latin America, and most particularly in Africa, resistance to imperialist domination was wide spread. The world was now integrated into a common exploitative system of production and exchange with centers being developed at the expense of the periphery. The Soviet Union alone remained tenuously outside the orbit of the capitalist world system of production. Her economy was as fragile as a fetus as the Comintern still looked toward the capitalist metropoles for their socialist revolutions.

ii. The Ascension of the Russian Petit-Bourgeoisie

The history of the rise of the Soviet bureaucracy as a result of the economic policies of the new regime in response to its isolation retraces the rise of the overt opportunism that would characterize Comintern policy by 1935. When the Bolsheviks came to power they had to guide the revolution through immense difficulty doing a period of unprecedented civil upheaval with the reaction in their midst supported by every imperial power in the world. After holding on through these critical times the economy was fragmented and in shambles. The national income was down to one third, production was off four fifths, in general, while the heavy industrial sector was the hardest hit. Essentials such as coal, and iron were running at one tenth and one fortieth their pre-war production levels.[18] Exchange between the urban and rural areas broke down which compounded this and many other problems. The workers who were working could not get food. As a result, the populations of Moscow and Petrograd were reduced dramatically as flight to the countryside became the order of the day. In an attempt to stimulate agricultural production, the government pursued a policy of directing the individual peasant to grow as much food as he could for exchange with the urban areas since the Red Army during the civil war simply confiscated his produce.

In addition to this plan to increase flow within and between markets in the U.S.S.R. some private industry was returned in the area of consumer goods. The state, however, continued to exercise control over heavy industrial production, foreign exchange, transportation, and within the financial sector. As a result of the

institution of these measures the agricultural, light industrial, and internal trading sectors of the economy did make remarkable gains within a short period of time. It was, however, in the area of heavy industrial output, the backbone of any advanced economy, that a crippling lag was experienced. The Trotskyite David Frankel describes how this process led to the creation of an intra-party strata of petit-bourgeois bureaucrats:

> ....Heavy industry—that sector of the economy producing machine tools, chemicals, metals, and processing raw materials—did not recover as quickly as consumer industry did, and in this area unemployed returned along with production for profit. By September 1922 there were 500,000 workers unemployed out of a total of three million in the work force. At the same time that workers suffered from unemployment, a new class of economically privileged factory mangers, specialists, rich peasants, speculators, and traders came to the fore. By the end of 1922 about 83 percent of all internal trade was in private hands.[19]

Of the class character of the communist Party Frankel has this to say:

> ...An increasing number of these "nepmen" began to enter the Bolshevik Party. In 1922, 35 percent of the management personnel in major industries were classified as nonworkers, and only one in seven of these were party members. A year later, 64 percent were classified as nonworkers,of whom nearly half were partymembers.[20]

Within the European working class social class chauvinism, reformism, and social democracy dominated the ideological outlook of the proletarian organizational formations. Table II shows that in every single European country including the United States with the exception of Soviet Russia, the reformist Socialist International was numerically stronger.

TABLE II[21]

Membership Figures
(January 1, 1928)

Communist International		Socialist International	
Soviet Russia	1,210,954	Soviet Russia	----------
Germany	124,729	Germany	67,674
Czechoslovakia	150,000	Czechoslovakia	184,960
France	52,376	France	99,106
United States	12,000	United States	15,000
Great Britain	9,000	Great Britain	3,388,286
TOTAL	**1,707,769**	**TOTAL**	**4,555,026**

V. The Political Practice of the Comintern

While the Comintern has some affiliates in Asia, and one in South Africa the focus of their operation remained within the metropolitan world. Though they supported the Communist Party of China(C.C.P.) and attempted to give it guidance and direction from Moscow it was not until the C.C.P. began to follow its own independent policy that it met with success.

The repeated errors of the international within its European theater of operations have been well documented and there has been agreement among many about the fact that these failures had a material basis. An anlaysis of these errors may not be as fruitful as turning to a more basic formulation which might, in a general way, lead us to one of the more central factors in the faliure of the Comintern. Walter Rodney advances it in this manner:

> ...Ever since the mid-19th century, Marx had predicted class collision would come in the form of Revolution in which workers would emerge victorious. The capitalists were terribly afraid of that possibility knowing full well that they themselves had seized power from the feudal landlord class by means of revolution. However, imperialism introduced a new

> factor into this situaion—one that deferred the confrontation between workers and capitalist in the metropoles.[22]

This principle could be said to be in full operation in Europe by the 1930's. Just as capitalism has been shown to be at its weakest in its periphery from the moment that it began to spread to every corner of the planet, it has resistance to its spread. Revolt against its domination, and revolution for its destruction, been most conspicuous, at different historical moments, in these regions of the world. These convulsions have, of course, in turn to the form of certain kinds of movements, again, within the periphery as part of an interrelated dynamic process. Taking Rodney a step further we might conclude that the revolutionary successes within the imperialist periphery are a prerequisite for metropolitan polarization, class struggle, and therefore, socialist revolution. We would then, perhaps, be making a more significant contribution if we focus upon the relationship between the Comintern and these peripheral struggles as a central factor in our analysis. The remainder of this section of the present chapter will be devoted to this line of inquiry.

i. Support for Struggle in the Capitalist Periphery

By the mid 1930's the Comintern was the foreign policy instrument of an ambitious Russian petit-bourgeois bureacracy which had defeated its major internal opposition, a grouping of rich peasants who had gotten fat from their domestic agricultural monopoly. These "kulaks" were banished and the land collectivized. The heavy industrial sector was now given priority—in a direct about face from previous economic policies. The Soviet working class under the lash of an ever expanding and consolidating petit-bourgeois state bureaucracy was rapidly propelling Russia into the twentiety century and into her role as a world power. The Comintern was fast becoming the diplomatic extension of that drive.

The twists and turns through which the Comintern's colonial policies went has been described and illuminated by the work of George Padmore, himself the former head of the special "Negro Commission" of the international. Upon his resignation from that body he said that:

"The Russians have no permanent friends, nor permanent enemies but only permanent interest."[23]

As a result of the establishment of clear links with the Asian Revolution especially in China it appeared that by its Sixth Congress in 1928 the Comintern was placing priority upon the insurgent periphery. The 1927 defeat of the Chinese Communist Party not withstanding, the most significant and far-reaching policy decisions made at that Moscow Congress bound the organization to a program of vigorous work relative to the colonial question both in the colonies and within the metropoles. The inauguaral conference of the renewed revived League Against Imperialism had been convened in Brussels the year before. That 1927 conference was scheduled to coincide with the revolutionary upsurge in China, the revolutionary civil campaign against the northern feudal lords. Responding to a directive from the Comintern the C.C. P. subordinated its politics and its organization to the Kuomintang(KMT) in this campaign. Essentially members of the C.C.P. were participants in this remarkable campaign not as an official organization but as individuals. A great victory for the Chinese people was expected through the use of this tactic. The "victory" back fired and a blood bath of Chinese communist at the hand of the KMT followed. Nevertheless, the ideological momentum of the League's Brussels Conference was carried through to the Comintern's Moscow Congress. At this Congress Padmore recalls the following directives:

> "The Congress makes it a duty of the Communist Parties in the metropolitan countries to put and end to the indifference which they have exhibited in regard to the mass movements in these colonies, and instead to afford energetic support both in the imperialist centres and in the colonies themselves to these movements, at the same time attentively studying the situation in these countries for the purpose of exposing the bloody exploits of imperialism and of creating the possibility of organizational connections with the developing proletarian elements there which are so mercilessly exploited by imperialism...[24]

He also recalls this theoretical assertion as part of the official record of the Congress:

> "In the Central African colonies of imperialism, colonial explitation takes on the very worst forms, uniting slave-owning, feudal and capitalist methods of exploitation. In the post-war period, capital from the imperialist metropolitan countries has flowed in an ever-increasing stream to the African colonies, compelling the concentration of considerable masses of the expropriated, and proletarianized population in plantations, mining and other enterprises."[25]

Looking again at our Table II it is easy to see that the strength of the Communist Parties in the white world in 1928 left much to be desired in almost every significan respect. Here is Padmore again on this same point:

> ....Unfortunately, the Western European Communist parties were then too weak and lacked the practical experience of the Russian party to enable them to translate into action the antiimperialist policies laid down by the Sixth Congress. For example, the Portugese Communist Party was underground. The Belgian and Dutch parties were small and impotent. The British Party—the Cinderella of the Comintern—while not quite as ineffective as those in the Low Countries, had no mass basis in the organized working-classmovement.[26]

The British Party did, however, have some very limited successes after the organization of the British section of their front organization, the League Against Imperialism. They organized a core of middle-class English liberals within a larger grouping of non-communist sympathizers including a few Africans in London who had formed around the Negro Improvement Association, headed by a West Indian named Arnold Ward. This African formation had affliated membership to the league.[27]

ii. Opportunist Policies and Failure

This very limited work did proceed for a short time; but as the Russian petit-bourgeois bureaucracy entrenched itself further as a consequence of the isolation of the fragile regime along with the failures in Europe and most especially in China; Russia became an

industrial power with the foreign policy of an industrial power. It joined the white bourgeois imperialist international, the League of Nations in 1934. It sold oil to the Fascist regime in Italy while it was invading helpless Abyssinia in 1935, and signed the Franco-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact in May of that same year. This led to the demise of the League Against Imperialism as the Russian regime was openly courting the French and British colonialists and flirting with the imperial fascists.

These revelations sent a shock wave through the anti-imperialist Black world. In the U.S. the C.P.U.S.A. which had failed to establish viable linkages with the left wing of the Garvey Movement, though they tried, lost more ground among the Black masses who supported the popular resistance in Abyssinia. In England the League disintegrated while many of its Negro Improvement Association afflilitated members participated in the formation of the anti-imperialist International African Friends of Abyssinia.

The Seventh World Congress of the Comintern opened in Moscow on July 25, 1935 and lasted until August 31. At that meeting the infamous "Peoples Front against Facism" was adopted afffirming unity with every colonialist power on the planet, and continuing the Kremlin's rapprochment with the enemies of the third world. The essential reason that bourgeois democracy could be extended to all sectors of metropolitan nation states ruled by the liberal bourgeoisies, with which the Comintern now advocated unity was because fascism was being practiced by these same imperialists in their colonies.

As a result of this policy of accomodation with liberal white chauvinism, the Indochinese Communist Party was told to forget about their demand for national independence. The opportunist Indian Communist Party got out of the national liberation front formation headed by Gandhi and Nehru and many communists were imprisoned for their anti-Britain imperialist war political work.[28] The Chinese Communist Party was the only Asian Comintern "affiliate" that had a chance to pursue its own independent policy. Since the fascist imperial Japanese had invaded their country, the concrete situation demanded that in order for them to be anti-imperialist, they had to be anti-fascist. The invading imperialists were the fascists in their midst. This time they joined the Kuomintang in the anti-Japanese struggle with their independent Communist political and military organizational

formations intact—a most successful tactic indeed.

In the United States the limited work that the C.P.U.S.A. did do among the Black sharecroppers of the "Oppressed Nation in the Black belt South" came to a dramatic halt as an attempt was made to rally the Black population both in the north and in the south in support for the coming war. In North Africa the French Communist Party appealed to the French government to relent on the repression of the nationalist Pan-Arab movement there with the stipulation that they would support the French war effort. They refused and their anti-imperialist organizational formation remained banned.[29] In South Africa which had the only Communist Party on continental Africa, after participating in, and precipitating the fragmentation of the I.C.U. Black worker formation in the early 1920's the Party was encouraging Africans to join the Racist South African Army to fight the German fascists. They were asked to join "Black only" labor support battalions.[30] Guns were kept out of their hands and they were asked to forget about their own struggle for equal rights.

In the midst of all this the Russians signed a nonaggression pact with the fascists themselves, in order to save their regime from German invasion after the conflict broke out during 1939 in Western Europe. With the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact in August of that same year, and the Kremlin's denounciation of the French and English governments for forcing the war upon the "passive" fascist; the vascillatory and opportunistic character of the Russian petit-bourgeoisie with their entrenched monstrous state bureaucracy was laid bare for all to see. With this turn of events the fate of the Comintern was sealed. In May of 1943 the Executive Committee of the Communist International officially dissolved the body. From 1928 to 1939 the organization had gone from the promise of third word upheaval to the active suppression of that mode of struggle. What Marx has called the vacillating nature of the petit-bourgeoisie owing to its suspension within a given society between the capitalist class and the proletariat might also be said of the Russian rulers perched between the Black and White words within a global context. And because, during the entire existence of the Comintern, not one single revolution was consummated either within the metropoles or the periphery, they had opportunistically chosen, for the time being, to go

with the winners. That was where the Comintern left us in 1943. It was the best that White internationalism under the Red Flag could objectively do.

VI. The Rise of Black Internationalism

i. The New Post War Political Situation

After the second Imperialist World War the non-white world convulsed. The French had to brutally put down upheavals in the Algerian cities of Setif and Guelma in 1945.[31] The British had to do the same thing in Accra, Ghana in 1948. In Asia the Indian masses were on the move under the petit-bourgeois leadership of Gandhi and Nehru. In Vietnam the French were meeting resistance as they tried to return as colonialists. Eastern Europe was being taken out of the western controlled international capitalist system. For the first time in history an army had disciplined and socialized a backward peasantry turning them into an effective revolutionary fighting force. That is what happen in China as "the Peoples' Republic" was established in 1948. The world political order was indeed different.

ii. The Fifth Pan-African Congress

On the heels of the Second Imperialist World War the Fifth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, England. A group of petit-bourgeois leaders convened by Dr. W.E.B. Dubois met in a forum in order to better understand the implications for their class of these changes within the world's polity. This meeting was markedly different from previous Pan-African Congresses for two principal reasons. In the first place, the nature of the new leadership that emerged was different. For the first time youthful activists with mass bases dominated the Congress. For example, Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone and others had gained their popular bases through mass organization. Johnson represented some 10,000 organized and 25,000 unorganized workers.[32] He had also spent some five years in a British West African prison which gained him considerable credibility among the African masses. This difference in the character of the new activist leadership resulted in the second thing that made the Fifth Pan-African Congress more progressive than the previous ones. The previous Congresses guided by Dubois were

essentially forums of African intellectuals who simply appealed to the goodwill of the imperialist masters. Among the young activists in attendance was George Padmore, himself a veteran of the Comintern who had tasted the poison of the white chauvinist European left. These activists pursued a strategy of direct appeal to the African masses. Though they were essentially reformists, they were nevertheless progressive to the extent that they were militantly opposed to colonialism.

George Padmore, then, represents for us a pivotal figure from white internationalism to what we have called "Black Internationalism." We have reviewed white internationalism in both its bourgeois and proletarian forms. The "Declaration to the Colonial People," of the Fifth Pan-African Congress expresses the solidarity of colonized peoples. It emphatically states that:

> Today there is only one road to effective action—the organization of the masses. And in that organization the educated colonials must join. Colonial and subject peoples of the world, Unite![33]

iii. Politically Black

Black Internationalism is a descriptive category used here to refer to the solidarity of the peoples of the non-white colonized world, within which the Pan-African world refers to the particular and peculiar position of those peoples whose history has been directly impacted by the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, within the international capitalist system. "Black" here is used as a political category to describe the peoples of the oppressed nations of the Third World who have historically been placed in a structurally subordinate position relative to metropolitan Europe. By this definition the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Oceania are politically Black.

Because of the existence of different classes within the broader Black International movement of which the Pan-African movement is part, different ideas, plans, and programs arose reflecting distinctive views as to the historical nature of Black Internationalism. Just as European bourgeios internationalism was the ideological creation and weapon of a certain class, and European proletarian internationalism, though its origin can be traced to certain petit-bourgeois elements and its genuine historic

implications have yet to be fulfilled, it nevertheless has the capacity to become a revolutionary ideological weapon once it becomes genuine proletarian internationalism and not merely metropolitan European "proletarian internationalism." So too is Black Internationalism "bourgeois Black Internationalism" to the extent that an oppressed nation has within it a bourgeois class formation capable of inscribing its class orientation upon the form and character of the national liberation struggle of the oppressed nation. This has been, for the most part, the case in Asia for certain historical reasons.

Within the Black International movement where there has been no fully developed bourgeoisie, the form that Black Internationalism has taken is that of Black petit-bourgeois internationalism. This has been the case, for the most part, throughout the Pan-African world which includes continental Africa and low land America. Walter Rodney has written the following on the limitations of the African petit-bourgeoisie:

> It would be unhistorical to deny the progressive character of the African petty bourgeoisie at a particular moment in time. Owing to the low level of development of the productive forces in colonized Africa, it fell to the lot of the small privileged educated group to give expression to a mass of grievances against racial discrimination, and the indignity of alien rule as such. But the petty bourgeoisie were reformers and not revolutionaries. Their class limitations were stamped upon the character of the independence which they negotiated with the masters.[34]

Theirs' was a petit-bourgeois form of Black internationalism or more specifically, they were petit-bourgeois Pan-Africanists. Even as early as the Fifth Pan-African Congress of 1945 this class distinction within the Pan-African movement was recognized by Black progressives. The "Declaration to the Colonial People" of that Congress sets forth that:

> The object of imperialist powers is to exploit. By granting the right to colonial peoples to govern themselves that object is defeated. Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and

> political emanicipation. The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the colonies to organize effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. Your weapons—the strike and the boycott—are invincible.[35]

Here we have a clear statement of the beginnings of a revolutionary Black Internationalism—a Black Internationalism of the workers and the peasants. The struggle for national independence is seen as a "first step" in the revolutionary process towards "complete social, economic and political emancipation." In the present period many have called this brand of revolutionary Black Internationalism within the Pan-African context, "Revolutionary Pan-Africanism." [36]

What is being said here is simple. Black Internationalism or, in the more restricted case of African peoples, Pan-Africanism has two clear historical roots. One stems from the European bourgeois international tradition, the other from the European abortive proletarian movement. As they operate within the Third World or the Black World the first is a reformist movement, the latter is a revolutionary movement. Within the Pan-African context petit-bourgeois Black internationalism goes back to Edward Blyden, Henry Sylvester Williams, and W.E.B. DuBois—progressives all in their time.

Just as Padmore and others are transitional figures within the Pan-African movement, so it is that they along with Ho Chi Mingh, Mao Tse Tung and others are pivotal figures within the larger Black International movement in the sense that they were part of movements made definitive breaks with the European metropolitan workers' movement.

Just as anything else, the Black International movement has progressed unevenly owing to certain historical factors. In Asia it has advanced more rapidly and has reached a higher level of development for many reasons. Among them, is the fact that Asia was never completely colonized by European imperialism is the most noticeable. It also has such a huge population and gigantic land mass. Africa was totally dominated. Asia was not weakend by the disruptive effects of anything comparable to the Trans-Alantic Slave Trade. However, there was some "coolie" labor imported from China and the Japanese also imported some Korean slave labor. Even so, there was nothing on the scale and duration of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the history of Asia. Futhermore, Asia had within its midst a strong Imperialist nation (Japan) which

contested the claim of European imperialism in the territories of Asia allowing the Peoples Liberation forces to develop in strength as they fought against the Japanese. The development and consolidation of such a united force made it impossible for a weakened Europe to reclaim all of its former colonies in Asia after the war. Furthermore, Asia had almost two milleni of relatively highly developed feudalism which had created an extremely massive, militant, more vigorous serfdom; and later an even more massive, more militant, more vigorous and seasoned peasantry. Only in Northern Africa which is closest to Europe geopraphically was there contested territory by different Imperialists during World War II and that was one of the factors that allowed the Peoples' Liberation Forces to emerge in that area of the world during the war to some degree. Another significant factor, in this regard, is that the Asian peoples' struggles also had a large and sympathetic state in the Soviet Union which was sufficiently geographically proximal to allow it to give a significant amount of both material and diplomatic support.

For these inter-related reasons, primarily, the Chinese, Vietnamese, and the Korean revolutionary struggles were able to mount significant challenges to the international capitalist system by 1955. In the rest of Asia the anti-colonial struggle was not as vigorous owing to the relative strength of petit-bourgeois and national bourgeois forces within the national struggles for liberation.

iv. The Emergence of the Post War Pan-African Mass Movement

On the African continent, the Mau Mau insurrection of 1953 led by such courageous mass leaders as Dedan Kimathi and Waruhui Itote required that new formulae be applied by the European Imperialists if they were to keep themselves from being swept out of the whole of Africa by the armed people. The following year(1954) the people of Algeria and Morocco had begun their armed anti-colonial struggle. The struggles on the part of the peoples of the Black World clearly demonstrated to those who still had doubts that the revolutionary initiative was now in the hand of the Black peoples of this earth. Popular struggles in Kenya, Algeria, and Morocco were no doubt part of a general wave of national liberation struggles during that time.

They were, in a very real sense, protracted wars of national liberation waged by a totally mobilized and committed people in direct response to an attempt by the European nation states ravaged by war seeking to rebuild by squeezing every ounce of surplus value that it could from the African peasantry. A rural laboring class which was by then being transformed into a rural and urban laboring population as large land monopolies were penetrating into the agricultural sector, separating further the people from their means of subsistence. As both mineral extraction and agricultural products for multi-national corporate profits began to flow like running water to Europe and North America an indigenous petit-bourgeoisie came into being. These national liberation struggles, therefore, had within them a significant petit-bourgeois presence. Additionally, their duration, though protracted, was not sufficient to allow radicalization within the left petit-bourgeoisie and could not result in the hegemony of a revolutionary ideology so essential to a full and mature anti-imperialist struggle with the capacity to build socialism.

History has shown that these and other struggles have proven to be abortive revolutionary movements that have succeeded in bringing to power throughout the Black world a set of indigeneous classes which have entrenched themselves within the capitalist periphery along with white settler populations representing reactionary, if not, out and out counter-revolutionary forces standing in the way of human social progress.

These class formations within the so-called "Third World" have been called many things. Some have called them a "Lumpen Bourgeoisie"[37], others a "Comprador Bourgeoisie".[38] These formulations focus upon the position that these classes hold relative to international metropolitan capital. While others have termed this strata of the Black World's population a "Lumpen Militariat",[39] and a "bureaucratic petit-bourgeoisie."[40] These formulation emphasize the nature of the states through which these class exercise their hegemonic sway. Finally, in the more popular agitational literature they are referred as "neo-colonial puppets"[41] and "imperialist lackeys" and "running dogs."[42] These latter designations refer to the overtly counter-revolutionary role that these forces play in the actual armed military phase of the revolutionary transformation of the society. More will be said in a special section of this effort treating with some of the theoretical formations and insights that have come out of the upsurge in the

revolutionary activity within the Black world within the last decade.

III. The Ascension of American Capitalism

At this point it is necessary to mention briefly some of the shifts that were taking place within the global capitalist system. As a result of the Second Imperialist World War there was significant intra-metropolitan destruction of productive capacity as was mentioned earlier. After the war the form of the interpenetration of capital from one nation state to the others was altered. The creation and redistribution of both finance and industrial capital began to take new and different forms. Consequently, the contours of political power within and between metropoles was transformed.

It is acknowledged that the most significant change in this regard was the ascendancy of the United States of North America to the position of top metropole in the world. This was achieved owing to several factors, among them the following should be considered. In the first place, the American capital stimulated by production for the war effort was left intact and more massive in scope, while the productive capacities of its metropolitan rivals like England, France, Germany, and Japan were left seriously damaged, if not totally incapacitated by the war. This allowed, in the second place, for American finance and therefore her industrial capital to penetrate and to subordinate the entire Western European and Japanese economies. The infamous Marshall Plan was the primary instrument through which the American state operating at the behest of American corporate capital. Through the Marshall Plan American Multi National Corporations (MNCs) operating in conjunction with the American State were able to achieve a decisive degree of economic hegemony within the international capitalist system. Thirdly, rampaging American capital which had penetrated and entrenched itself throughout the entire western hemisphere with the exception of significant portions of the Caribbean-already rich from a half century of imperialist exploitation- was not unchallenged as it consolidated its interest. American capital consolidated most dramatically within the mineral sector of the larger Caribbean Islands and in the whole of the Americas. And in the fourth instance, American capital- through new and more effective mechanisms of the joint stock vertically integrated Trans-National Conglomerates- was able to get

into Africa, Asia, and Oceania via Western Europe and Japan indirectly and directly through its own institutional appendages such as the historical American MNC i.e. Firestone. This giant rubber corporation has had an exploitative presence in continental Africa dating back to the First Imperialist World War.

These are some of the considerations that led to the inescapable conclusion that these new global political relations have had repercussions, the consequences of which we are witnessing today. As part of this expansion of American capitalism, in particular, many changes began to take place within its national boundaries. The southern and western regional economies became marked by unprecedented economic expansion and diversification. The plantation south, where Black labor had been historically exploited, within a rural backward agricultural economy based on the production of cotton as a staple, was rapidly transformed into the regional backbone of a new integrated national economy. An economy now based upon the production of war related materials as the international capitalist system began to arm its reactionary allies all over the world. The gulf ports became major points of entry of every kind of raw material used in this kind of production. This area today has some of the nation's largest aluminum smelters, petro-chemical refineries and storage facilities.[43]

Because of the strategic location of this relatively new gulf port complex, ships loaded with bauxite and crude oil along with other extracted minerals and agricultural commodities discharge their cargoes from the Caribbean and Latin America and from the rest of the Black World each day. Port facilities situated in the Mississippi-Gulfport area, in the Galveston-Houston area, and in Mobile are points of arrival for these raw materials. In order to support this continuing expansion, extensive financial, commercial, over-land transportation and communication centers have emerged in Atlanta, Houston, New Orleans and to a lesser extent in the smaller cities of the United States south.

Black people as laborers within the American metropolitan economy have, as part of the overall process been transformed from an essentially rural laboring population in the labor intensive agricultural sector of the national economy into the most militant and marginal

section of the American multi-national proletariat. Though this process had begun much earlier in the northeastern and midwestern regions of the geo-political nation state owing to the uneven character of capitalist internal expansion; the far reaching and dramatic consequences that this demographic shift has had within the polity of the South in the last decade is undeniable. Additionally, it is precisely because of its historical plantation labor experience which has resulted in the majority of Black people remaining in the southeastern region of the country which gives the region of the country the promise for the development of new revolutionary insight.

The military industrial expansion specific to the south has placed Black laboring people in a unique position within the emerging American proletariat and within the rest of the world today. This is significant because the struggle of Black laboring peoples within the, so called, "Third World" is beginning to have decisive effects upon the class and national alignment within and between metropolitan nation states. At this point many progressive thinkers believe that decisive social movement within the capitalist periphery will hasten the polarization of classes within and between metropolitan societies as part of the process of the social disintegration within the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary stages of global transformation.

IV. The Revolutionary Presence of Immigrant Labor in Metropolitan Europe

This process is now taking place within many metropolitan societies within the international capitalist system. The European correspondent for the *Economist* has written in the *New York Times* that:

> Migrant labor is not new, nor is it exclusively a European phenomenon. The economic motor that drove American blacks to northern cities or which draws Mexicans to California, is the same as that which brings Turkish workers to Frankfurt or Brazilian peasants from the northeast to the industrial cities of its golden triangle. Capital needs labor.[44]

Recently published figures show that there are 2.5 million foreign workers in Germany alone,[45] a substantial proportion of whom come

from the underdeveloped countries of the directly integrated capitalist periphery and some even come from the remotest reaches of the international capitalist hinterlands. The Algerian workers in France along with the "Senegalese" are highly visible to anyone who travels there. The "Hindu", "Jamakan" and the "Blocks" are generally a substantial part of the English working population. Just as the Indonesian immigrants are very much a part of the marginal Black working population to be found in Rotterdam.

Of the political and social impact of these imported laboring populations, the correspondent for the *Economist* goes on to say that:

> Racial violence flares easily in crowed cities, where the proportion of foreign workers is often three or four times the national total. Dutch workers clashed with Indonesian migrants in Rotterdam during the summer of 1972 and in Marseilles, last summer(1973), the murder of a French bus driver by an Algerian worker sparked weeks of rioting and reprisals against North African workers in France during which 11 Arabs were killed.[46]

The same article points out that the flow of labor into certain metropoles was initiated because of, not only the need for labor, but for the creation of a surplus of labor so that competition within the laboring population for jobs would be increased. This, thereby, serves to blunt the development of a unified labor struggle with revolutionary potential. The article continues:

> A recent study in Britain calls migrant labor a formof development aid given by poor countries to the rich. But in weighting the cost and benefits of that aid, authorities face a dilemma. foreign labor has been a plus for employers because it is cheap, hard to organize and because it provides a brake to union wage demands. And as a bonus, "host" countries have for long escaped the rearing cost of adult migrants. Now, however, the balance of advantages is changing as migrant workers add inflationary pressure to the cost of public services and as the social strains in large cities increase. [47]

While this passage from the article alludes to a manifestation of the problem it does not approach its essential character. It is true that within the metropoles workers from other underdeveloped sectors of the international capitalist system have always occupied a marginal status with regard to maintaining a relatively stable relationship to the central production process. The competition between metro labor and "foreign labor" within a specific metropole was actually minimal. There were, however, certain undesirable jobs earmarked for non-metro labor. Consequently, it is also true that the metropolitan white working class has benefited directly from the marginality of the foreign worker generally, and the Black worker more particularly.

As the crisis within the international capitalist system deepens and the general quality of life within metropolitan society deteriorates, a standard and quality which is based upon the exploitation of the resources of the Black world; the metropolitan white working class itself will become less secure in its role as a secondary benefactor within the international capitalist system. In other words, the material privileges that they derive from the system will no longer be there and their position within the society will become more and more marginal. As a result, the conditions for unity of struggle between metro white workers and the workers from the periphery within the metropole will be set into motion as the internal contradictions within a dying system creates the basis for this unity as part of the dynamics by which its sows the seeds of the new order within the process of its own destruction.

To a great extent the basic dynamics of the process that has just been described are applicable to the revolutionary process that will transform the metropolitan United States of North America, especially when the implications of the position of the Black laboring populations are put into their proper historical perspective.

V. The Reactionary Settler States within the Capitalist Periphery

We have looked at the revolutionary implications of the presence of labor from the Black world as it has been and is being exploited within the confines of the national boundaries of white nation states. Now let turn to an evaluation of a stratum of the population within the Black world that has constituted, historically, a reactionary presence.

The colonial settler population of exploiters remains a residual in their privileged enclaves of reaction from the classical period of "the golden age" of imperial plunder. The white settler governments of southern Africa, in particular, are without a doubt their most rigid, naked, and reactionary institutional state political formations.

The imperialist crisis of these times has spawned mass upheavals with revolutionary outcomes in some cases and setbacks in others. And as the process of anti-capitalist social struggle mature in the periphery, the reactionary forces harden into counter-revolutionary opposition as part of that process.

In recent years the intra-metropolitan working class struggle toward unity is beginning to seem possible as the privilege of the white metro working population is starting to disappear. Of course this is happening as a consequence of the development of a tendency towards the deterioration in the quality of life within the white world. A concurrent phenomenon has been observed operating at the level of the reactionary polity of a decaying capitalist world order within peripheral social and political relations. It is now evident at this conjuncture that a reactionary Black petit-bourgeoisie has emerged to take its place along side white settler populations as wheedlers of capitalist political power in the new period of neo-colonial petit-bourgeois Black state hegemony. This new detente seems all the more real as the reaction unifies within the Black world. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, has recently reported that some twenty(20) African governments are now prepared to admit the South African apartheid regime to the OAU as a full member.[48] Among those, at this point, willing to back a proposal for admission from the Ivory Coast are: Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Zambia, and others.[49]

It is widely known that Rhodesia and South Africa are prepared to relent to some degree on their apartheid policies, at least to a sufficient extent to exhibit the necessary amount of "goodwill" so that the petit-bourgeois states that make up the OAU would have an excuse to recognize the legitimacy of their capitalist class brethren within Southern Africa. All that is needed to insure that this will happen is the temporary granting of a limited number of democratic rights to a limited number of Black people and the installation of a certain number of Blacks within the present state structures. Since the question for

the Black petit-bourgeois leaders in African governments is one which merely asks that capitalism does right by them and is, therefore a moral question. As such it can never be cast in its true dimension by them. Of course, the real question to be resolved in the crucible of revolutionary struggle is: Which social class shall exercise its political sway? Posing the question in this manner reveals it in light of its true historic nature.

With this brief sketch of the broad contours of the new world political situation advanced, let us now attempt a cursory analysis of some of the relatively new theoretical formulations as they are being put forth in the recent literature.

VI. Theoretical Questions and Formulations

Valid attempts at breaking away from the international capitalist orbit on the part of peripheral national formations using armed violence as a means of transforming those societies is undeniably a real part of the contemporary world. Accordingly, this movement has raised many new questions and has called for new formulations that seek to interpret and further the understanding of this vital and critical process and to inform and become a living part of the process itself. Activist thinkers such as Mao Tse Tung, from the Chinese peoples' struggle, Franz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Amilcar Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane, from the Africa peoples' anti colonial struggle, Ho Chi Minh, and General Giap, of the Indochinese people's liberation struggle, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara, of the Cuban Revolution, along with many others should be studied for new insights from the movements in which they participated.

What will be attempted here is a quick glance at the more massive categories of analysis and gross assessment of their shortcoming as well as maybe some utility.

Perhaps the term that is used most frequently to try to describe the relationship between the oppressor center nations of the capitalist world and the oppressed peripheral nations of the remainder of the capitalist system as well as those underdeveloped countries attempting to build socialism is the term "the Third World". This is a term that has obvious descriptive utility. Many have, however, been critical of its usage. Pierre Jalee has raised objections to it on the grounds that it

implies that countries of the "Third World" depend neither on capitalist nor upon the "socialist" world. The implication that there is a "Third World" operative independent of and between the capitalist international system and the "socialist" international system does not correspond to objective economic reality.[50] This appears to be a valid objection. However, the term, "Third World" has generally come to refer, in the literature, to the non-metropolitan world. That part of the capitalist periphery that is underdeveloped.

It has also been used interchangeably with two terms popularized by the Cubans, "The Tricontinental World" or "The Tri-Lateral World". Now these terms have some geo-political significance when referring to the possibility of a "Third strategy" or a "Third Way Out"; a way which is neither "Capitalist" as it is practiced, or "Socialist" as it is practiced. When these formulations are used strategically in this way or when they are used to loosely describe very gross global relations then perhaps they may have some very limited utility. But when conceptualizing in a very refined way intricate, historically derived political and economic relations, the precision required for that kind of analysis demands more sharply defined categories and concepts. These new terms, in order to bring this type of refined analysis into sharper focus has to have the capacity to come to grips with: 1) the relative degree of the overall integration of the production and market relations within the international capitalist system; 2) the relative degree of internal integration of the production and market relations within the "socialist world"; 3) the relations of the production and market forces of the "socialist world" to those of the "capitalist world"; 4) the identification and unification of the potentially revolutionary forces i.e., the workers and the peasants, on the one hand; and the clear identification of forces of reaction i.e., the white settlers and Black petit-bourgeois elements, on the others, within the underdeveloped world. And 5) the identification and unification of potential revolutionary forces operative within metropolitan societies i.e. the imported laboring populations from the "Black World", and the white working classes which have traditional been in place since the beginning of monopoly capitalism. In the case of the U.S.- and Black laboring population which has become part of the urban industrial economy since the war fulfills a role simulate to that of immigrant laborers from

the Black World in Europe. This section of the U.S. proletariat in part of the revolutionary forces in the world today.

These are but a few of the conceptual problems that highlight the general inadequacies that can be found within the popular agitational and intellectual theoretical literature which are attempting to advance some new analysis.

Let us now take a look at two theoreticians who have attempted with some success to outline some of the critical factors operative at the level of the economic base on a world scale. These economic theoreticians will be examined here because they are dealing with the most basic and fundamental aspects of the contemporary world situation. However, it would be a narrow oversight not to, at least, mention the important work that is being and has been done by certain critical historians such as Endre Sik,[51] Walter Rodney,[52] and others. The writings of major politico-tactical theoreticians need to also, once again, be mentioned such as Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Amilcar Cabral, General Giap, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara. Many other general writers and contributors to this growing body of social knowledge like Franz Fanon and Kwame Nkrumah should also be acknowledged.

In recent years some critically significant work has emerged and merits real consideration. Samir Amin,[53] and Arghiri Emmanuel,[54] two economists, have set forth many intricate and gross theoretical formulations. Amins' analysis took place at the level of production relations and Emmanual's contribution took place at the level of exchange and trade relations on a global arena. What they are, in fact, saying in their works entitled *Accumulation on a World Scale*(Volumes 1 and 2), and in *Unequal Exchange*, respectively, will no doubt be the source of much debate from which, it is hoped, many new and more refined formulations will come.

In the case of *Unequal Exchange,* though there were contained within the work many valid refined contributions, it suffers from an over emphasis upon trade. This weakness occurs throughout the work to the point of viewing these relations as activities within themselves, as opposed to a clearer view of these relations as phenomenological manifestations of more profound production relations. Such an analysis would not lead to the historically necessary prescriptive measures involved in the transformation of the basic mode of production. It

also does not affirm the objective difference in the position of Black and white labor at the point of production within a developed nation state. However, in a *Monthly Review*[55] article Emmanuel does posit the objective basis for the differences that exists within the capitalist periphery between the white settler population and the remainder of the population within the white controlled capitalist economy.

Samir Amin puts production relations and the basic mode of capitalist production itself in its proper fundamental place within his analysis. The developed world is not seen as something that the underdeveloped world can become since its achievement and the very form that it has taken is circumscribed by the character of its historical relationship to the underdeveloped world. In the same manner, the underdeveloped world is not seen as being at a more primitive stage within the course of its development. The path of development taken by the small state formation of the underdeveloped world within the capitalist periphery will not take them through anything similar to what exists within the developed world today. Serious analysis reveals that the process of underdevelopment began as part of the integration of peripheral areas into the international capitalist system which was itself an international system from the beginning. This process does not resemble, in the least, anything that had transpired as part of the independent development of the peripheral region in question prior to its integration into the system of global capitalism.

Amin uses extensively the "Center-Periphery" model of analysis. This formulation seems to have more utility than do others because it is more reflective of a basic understanding of the flow of surplus values from the periphery to the capitalist epi-centers. This model, therefore, adds a descriptive accuracy to an analysis of the basic exploitative relations that the centralization and concentration of the world capitalist means of production in metropolitan areas located in various places on the planet has spawned.

Nevertheless, the social struggle for the transformation of the world goes on and on...and the formulations that have their basis within that struggle and are reformulated through it likewise goes on.

Summary

What has been attempted in this part of the volume is an analytical sketch of the origin and historical nature of both White Bourgeois Nationalism and Proletarian Internationalism. Their failures were duly noted, and set of formulations were, in gross perspective, for a new and genuine internationalism. This new internationalism has its origin in the struggles of the ex-colonial world against capitalism and has been termed "Black Internationalism". Another set of formulations were introduced describing the dynamic process by which world socialist revolution is now unfolding under the leadership of the workers and peasants of the "Black World", acting in unity with the Black advanced section of the metropolitan working classes. The Pan-African struggle is international in both its peripheral and metropolitan dimensions. And in both of these dimensions it is profoundly and fundamentally a proletarian movement.

Within metropolitan nations, especially the U.S., the independent Black workers' struggle will act to polarize the society and a reluctant white working class will be forced to fulfill its proletarian mission as part of this larger and more protracted process of world socialist revolution. It will have no other choice. This was followed by a glance at some of the emerging theoretical formulations and questions that have arisen out of the this struggle as the process of formulation and reformulation continues.

Notes

1. Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (Dar-es-Salaam, Toussaint Bogel Press, 1972), pp.162-163.
2. *Ibid.*, p.174.
3. *Ibid.*, p.175.
4. *Ibid.*, pp.219-220.
5. Clark, Majorie Ruth, *A History of the French Labour Movement—1910-1928,* (Berkeley, 1930), pp.53 and 135.
6. Braunthal, Julius, *History of the Internationals*, Vol. I, (New York, 1967), pp. 197-198.
7. Beckford, George, *Presistent Poverty*, (New York, 1972), p. 112.
8. *Ibid.*, p.113.

9. *Ibid.*

10. May, Ernest R. "World War I - Economic Consequences," *Encyclopedia Americana,* Vol, 29, p.349.

11. Braunthal, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

14. May, *op. cit.*, pp. 349- 350.

15. Lenin, V.I. "Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions," in *Selections from V.I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin on the National Colonial Question,* (Calcutta, 1970), p.60.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

17. I*bid.*

18. Novack, et. al., *op.cit.*, p. 104.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. Lorwin, Lewis, *Labor and Internationalism*, (New York, N.Y., 1929), p. 526.

22. Rodney op. *cit.*, p. 219.

23. Padmore, George, *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, (New York, N.Y, 1972), p. xxvii.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.* pp. 305-306.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 309.

29. *Ibid.,* pp. 310-315.

30. *Ibid.,* pp. 309-310.

31. Smirnov, S. R., M. Y. Frankel, G.A. Nersev, A. B. Dividson, Ed., *A History of Africa- 1918-1967*, (Moscow, Mauka Publishing House, 1968), p. 66.

32. Hill, Adelaide, and Kilson, Martin, *Apropos of Africa*, (Gaden City, New Jersey, Doubleday, 1971), pp. 368-369.

33. Padmore, *op. cit.,* p. 150.

34. Rodney, Walter, *Towards the Sixth Pan-African Congress-Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa, the Caribbean and America*, Mimeograph, Dar-es-Salaam, April, 1974, p. 5.

35. Padmore, *op. cit.*, pp 149-150.

36.Sixth Pan-African Congress, *General Declaration of the Sixth Pan-African Congress,* Mimeopraph, Dar-es-Salaam, Adopted, June,1974, p. 5.

37. "Lumpen Bourgeoisie" is a term popularized by Andre Gunder Frank in his writings which include *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution*, (New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1969). The forgoing along with his work "The Development of Underdevelopment" in Rhodes, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment*, and numerous Monthly Review contributions can be looked at.

38. "Comprador Bourgeoisie" is a term used by many writers, the specific origins of this designation is unknown to this author.

39. "Lumpen Militariat" is a term used by Horace Campbell in an attempt to deal with the present political situation in Uganda, Issued in mimeograph, January, 1974.

40. "Bureaucratic Petit-bourgeoisie" is a formula used by Walter Rodney and others to describe the use of the state by bureaucrats to accumulate personal wealth and control over the means of production within a peripheral capitalist economy.

41. "Neo-colonial puppets" is a term popularized by Kwame Nkrumah in his book, *Neo-Colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism.*

42. "Imperialist lackeys" and "running dogs" are terms having their origin in the Chinese revolutionary experience and popularized by Mao Tse Tung.

43. Girvan, Norman, *Foreign Capital and Economic Development in Jamaica*, (Mona, Jamaica, Univ. of the West Indies Press, 1971), pp. 28-30.

44. While Brazil in not necessarily a metropolitan nation state it too is illustrative of this profound trend toward dramatic urbanization and social realignment. The article does, however, emphasizes empirical information primarily about Europe. See Fawcett, Edmund, "Europe's Imported Work Forces," *The York Times*, Sunday, June 23, 1974, p. E-5.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. The secondary source of this information was reported in *The Burning Spear,* The organ of the African Peoples Socialist Party, Saint Petersburg, March 1975, p. 9. The primary article is reported to have appeared in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times,* in the February 16, 1975 edition.

49. *Ibid.*

50. Jalee, Pierre, *The Pillage of the Third World,* (New York, Monthly Review Press)1968, pp. 1-3.

51. Sik, Endre, *The History of Black Africa*, Volumes I & II, (Budapest, 1966).

52. Rodney, "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa", *op. cit.*

53. Amin, Samir, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, (New York, Monthly Review Press,1974).

54. Emmanuel, Arghiri, *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialismof Trade*, (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1972).

55. Emmanuel, Arghiri, "White Settler Colonialism and the Myth of Investment Imperialism," *Monthly Review,* Summer, 1974.

PART II

SOCIAL CLASS AND INTERNATIONAL BLACK POWER

CHAPTER 3

The Class Origin and Nature of the Contending Ideologies Within Black Society

The left wing of the Black intelligentsia in North America is beginning to cast the question of the relevancy of the concept of the class struggle for the "Black struggle" in scientific terms. Intellectuals within the political activist sector of our movement are beginning to see that it is no longer fruitful to define a social class, and therefore, to view the concept in the same manner as many of the writers of the early and middle sixties. They conceived of the concept in idealistic sociological or anthropological terms. Men like E. Franklin Frazier[1] and Nathan Hare[2] had within their minds a certain notion of what they thought social class meant and what direction the changes within the class configuration of Black society was going. Unfortunately theirs was a vague and nominal step corrupted and stifled by a view of social class that did not take into account its central and most essential feature, that of the manner in which a group finds itself objectively linked to the production process.

Of the earlier works in this regard, W.E.B. Dubois' classic *Black Reconstruction in America: 1860-1880,*[3] besides being a monument to the encompassing quality of his intellect provides us with an excellent example of the class analysis as a method applied to a previous period of the history of our people. He did not, however, choose to focus upon the ideological and theoretical implications of the method itself. Although Oliver C. Cox[4] has also addressed himself to this same problem in a general way and has therefore not emphasized the class relationships within Black society in America per se, Dubois' contribution stands out as the most vital work in this area.

Within the last two years (circa. 1973-75) there has been a resurgence of cultural nationalist's distortions in this area. This recent vintage of reprinted and new works range from the biological and anthropological

determinism of Francis Wellesing[5], Carlos Moore[6], and others[7] to the social science fiction of the Congress of African Peoples(CAP) ideological documents issued up to 1973. These CAP documents tried to define social class in the Black community in America by a "value-class"[8] formula which has its basis within the proximity of a certain strata of Blacks in general to "white folks". While more recent CAP documents[9] have begun to demonstrate a crude sensitivity toward the class dimension as a tool of analysis, the earlier documentation represents the position of an ideological tendency still operative within our movement and to that extent an appraisal of this error of analysis is meaningful.

On the other hand, there is a body of analytical thought that essentially holds that the real nature of the position of Black people in America is plain and simply a problem of class without qualifications. This tendency does not regard a consideration of any peculiarities or particularities of a qualitative nature within the circumstances of Black people, taken as a whole, as having any merit at all. In a more apologetic form, this view holds that the Black and White sectors of the broader American working class is divided because of the propaganda of the ruling capitalist class of this country.[10] This form of conceptualization reveals little sensitivity or appreciation for the historically derived objective difference in the position of African or Black laboring people in America, and that of the white working class. It is also idealistic because the working class is seen as being artificially divided as a result of propaganda. The real division is not seen as real. Further, this view does not deal with the historically deceived privileged position of white labor in general.

The rash of doctrinaire quasi Marxist ideologues, from the well known statements of Angela Davis to the recently published polemic by Mark Smith speaking for the Youth Organization For Black Unity(YOBU)[11], are exemplary of this mode of mis-analysis. The error does not lie in a failure to see the utility of the class analysis but rather a mis-application of the approach.

In this particular section a case will be made that will support the validity and utility of the technique itself. It remains outside of our intention here to deal with every pseudo-formulation, misrepresentation, and variation

thereof relative to this problem. What will be attempted is an analysis of the major conceptual errors in this area of thought. An independent conclusion regarding a particular work or formulation will be required on the part of the reader. After this is done, what is viewed as an objective class analysis will be put forth for consideration within the context of a general affirmation of the historical particularities of the independent Black movement in America. In this attempt the major ideological strains arising from various social classes and groupings within Black society will be mentioned and evaluated.

I. Critique of Bourgeois Definitions of Class

In the average bourgeois sociology textbook there is a chapter entitled "social stratification." In this chapter is usually found an attempt at a definition of social class by the use of the criterion of financial income or some other measure of consumption capacity. Within that same chapter one usually finds a chart depicting the pyramidic layers of society from top to bottom as the "upper class," the "middle class," and the "lower class" with appropriate income cut offs marking the limits for each one with a designated (usually arbitrary) number of members who fall within certain limits adding an air of pseudo- precision. At this point the bourgeois sociologist often goes even further along the road of idealistic nonsense by adding more "precise" categories without adding any new information. More confusion is added by including such sub-categories within each layer as the "upper-upper class," the "middle-upper class," and the "lower-upper class." Continuing in the same way they label these useless sub-categories as the "upper-middle class," the "middle-middle class," and the "lower-middle class." They then go on to the "upper-lower class," the " middle-lower class," and finally the "lower-lower class."

Not only are these categories idealistic and vague, but the character of their relationship to each other is purposefully distorted. For example, a General Motors executive might make $ 60,000 per year which would place him in the upper class. But could this person be in the same class as John D. Rockefeller who not only makes a lucrative salary as Vice President of the United States but has assets in the hundreds of millions of dollars? Of course not.

These layers also take on a passive posture with regard to one

another. And as a consequence the whole of bourgeois society is viewed as peaceful, and tranquil. Of course this is not surprising since it is the task of classical and neo-classical sociology to attempt to analyze social phenomena without giving any serious consideration to its most vital aspect, that of the power relations that abides within any society that has class divisions. One cannot begin to deal objectively with things social in class society without looking at the politics of those things, which logically leads us into the abstract realm of bourgeois Neo-liberal political science.

In this area of study what is accomplished by bourgeois sociologists with "passive layer" formulations is achieved by "systems analysis" with its corollary notions of pluralist accommodation within the context of an over-all assumption of the tendency of the American social order "toward equilibrium." While this behavioral political science model contains less passivity than its sister sociological formulation, the basic conception of a social order at peace with itself comes through in relatively naked form. Of course, these kinds of formulations reinforce, ideologically, the existing social order and serves to justify the continued maintainance in power of those who presently rule. There is no hint of the historically valid concept of the irreconcilability of the conflict between opposing social forces within the society. This notion is incompatible with the assumption of the ad infinitum rule of the capitalist class and is, therefore outside the domain, of bourgeois neo-liberal political science.

A return to the definition of social class that uses income ranges, and hence consumption capacity for families of a certain size as the line of demarcation between them is appropriate. For the sake of greater clarity, it might be perhaps necessary to further demonstrate the unworthiness of these types of definitions. Suppose, hypothetically, that there are two families of five members each whose income is $10,000 per year with only the male head of the household working. The head of one of the households is an assembly line worker at say, the Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck, Michigan, and the other is an Assistant Professor of History at Wayne State University in Detroit. Are they in the same social class? By the definition stated above they are. But are they in reality?

Using another example to illustrate the same point, suppose there

are two factory assembly line workers each from families of five where they are the only employed members. They both earn $10,000 per year at a plant where they work together. The first worker has only that one job. However, the other has a job at a hospital working as an orderly at night where he is able to earn an additional $8,000 per year. Is the first person in the same social class as the second? By the definition given earlier they might not be, since the first has an income of only $10,000 and the second earns $18,000 per year.

Recognizing the inadequacy of this manner of approaching a definition of social class, bourgeois pseudo social scientists, in an attempt to be more convincing, retreat further into idealism. Many of them try to characterize class by the values that people have in their heads. While values and ideas are a result of the class origin of individuals, they cannot serve as the primary basis of a scientific definition. Values and ideas are merely the phenomenological tip of a much more profound iceberg. Would-be social scientists who view social class in this way end up counting the cars in a person's garage, or the number of color television sets, credit cards, or the number of sticks of furniture within someone's home in an attempt to make a determination of his/her social class. Idealistic conclusions arrived at through inappropriate empirical means characterizes this style of pseudo social science. It is this type of thinking in white bourgeois society that many latter day revolutionary theoreticians fall prey to. Even Kwame Nkrumah, who has great respect in many circles, revealed this conceptual weakness when he stated that:

> It is possible to place a person in a particular class simply by observing his general appearance, his dress, and the way he behaves.[12]

Recognizable tinges of idealism are evident in such a statement. He does, in another section of his *Class Struggle in Africa* come closer to a scientific definition of the concept of social class:

> For in the final analysis, a class is nothing more than the sum total of individuals bound together by certain interest which as a class they try to preserve and protect.[13]

This statement comes closer, but it too does not reach the mark. It suffers from two weaknesses. A class is more than merely the "sum total of individuals bound together...." It is qualitatively different from simply an aggregate of individuals. It is a social force. The second point, in this regard, that is most fundamental and the first point flows from it. These "...certain interest to which as a class they (classes) try to preserve and protect..." occur as a result of a general historical process that places them in opposition to other class groupings within the society with regard to the most fundamental activity within it, the reproduction of itself or its production. It would, therefore, seem that any scientific definition of social class would not only focus upon the different interests of social classes, but would attempt to acknowledge the basis of those different interests.

A definition of the concept of social class in its most basic, simple, and essential aspect is appropriate. Social class is most basically an economic category. Whenever a group of people are placed by the historical process into the developing production process within a given society in the same way, they constitute a social class. The concept of social class therefore refers to the basic orientation of a group of people to the production activity taking place within a given society at a given historical moment. From this comes its consciousness in the form of its values, ideas, style and interests which in turn serves as an ingredient in the historical social conflicts that propel societies forward.

Georg Lukacs has advanced in this regard the sound proposition that:

> ...class consciousness consists in fact of the appropriate and rational reactions "imputed" (zugerechnet) to a particular position in the process of production. This consciousness is, therefore, neither the sum nor the average of what is thought or felt by the single individuals who make up the class. And yet the historically significant actions of the class as a whole are determined in the last resort by this consciousness and not by the thought of the individual—and these actions can be understood only by ref erence tohis consciousness.[14]

It is impossible to overemphasize the most fundamental point that the ideas, values, style, and perceived interests of a given social class

have their origin within dynamic relations within the production process which characterizes any particular society.

II. Black People: Ethnic or National Grouping

It is beyond the scope of this effort to go into an extensive consideration of the National question. A few points of clarity are needed, however, and they must suffice for the moment.

There are many different points of view on questions relating to the objective position of African or Black people within the broader framework of American capitalist society. Many regard us as an ethnic group much like the Polish, Jews, Germans, Irish, and Anglo-Saxons within a pluralistic society. This is the bourgeois liberal view. It is a wrong view. It is conceptually wrong because an ethnic grouping is merely a cultural or, at best an anthropological distinction, even though many political scientists found it useful. But this view only has phenomenological implications regarding the historically developed production relations in a society. Consequently, the national exploitation and oppression of a group does not enter the equation. To say that America is a pluralistic society is the bourgeois idealist's way of fogging up the notion of the multi-national character of American society, and the irreconcilability of the basic social conflict in a maturing capitalist society, multi-national though it might be. This point of view also is guilty of the denigration of the historical uniqueness of the role of surpluses derived from the exploitation of African or Black laboring people, especially during the period of chattel slavery, in the development of this society. On the other hand we have a set of views, yet uncrystallized and crisp with regard to the character and specifics of the differences that exist between the various national groupings within the working class. They do however, agree that America is a multi-national society with historically developed multi-national relationships of production and market characteristics that are peculiar and particular to it. That national groupings composed of many different social classes have entered into certain kinds of economic, and therefore political relationships with other national groupings of classes which can be described as generally exploitative and therefore generally oppressive. Proponents of this type of outlook further agree that Africans in America have historically constituted from the beginning of the

formation of this multi-national nation state, the largest, most essential, and most formidable exploited national formation within American society.

Disagreement within this camp centers around whether or not Africans in America meet some set of criteria and are therefore an oppressed nation with the right of self-determination. And of course, there is considerable debate over the various positions on the many accompanying corollaries flowing from this central and most essential political question. For the purposes of this effort, it is necessary for a position to be taken here on this matter realizing that this is not a paper on the National question per se. Nevertheless, a definitive position would serve to explain the use of certain words as opposed to others.

It goes without saying that since the very fact that one sees some utility in making a class analysis of Black society in America certain assumptions are already being made. The most basic one of these assumptions is clear. That there is, in fact, a Black society that exists separate and apart from the rest of American society. That this "society" has its own class configuration. And since, for the scientists who have chosen to study the movement of society objectively, all categories are historical ones, that is they have their basis in objective historical movement; then it follows that the independent class configuration that characterizes Black society in America is at least similar to an objective national formation. On the basis of this, the ideas expressed within this chapter will flow from the basic position that Black people in America constitute an oppressed national formation and have the right of self-determination up to and including secession; if that be the popular will expressed in protracted struggle against American corporate capitalism. This will be elaborated upon later in the chapter when the question of the existence of a Black bourgeoisie is considered—as the distinctive historical character of the independent Black movement is directly related to this question. Again, this is not meant to be a polemic on this particular question. All that is required here is to mention the general relevancy of the National question upon a class analysis of Black society and to establish a position from which a class analysis can be launched.

A quick word is needed by way of explanation concerning the concept of "race" and hence "racism." While they are often used as

political terms, genetic and anthropological usage has a tendency to dull their sharpness as politico-economically definitive concepts. Even when they are applied within a political context, they refer to the national character, or to attitudes that are derived there from, of a particular grouping of people, usually within the confines of a multi-national state. It is for this reason that the concept of "national chauvinism" is preferred. It is politically sharp and does not lend itself to that brand of genetic and anthropological contamination.

III. A Class Analysis of Black Society in America

It should be pointed out from the start that there are many cultural nationalist, and other assorted idealist, empiricists, and metaphysicians of the right, who confuse a failure of a particular attempt at class analysis as a failure of class analysis in general. They, therefore are blind to the usefulness of it as a technique of better understanding the dynamics of our society, based upon the failure of a particular application of the technique. That is why they are, more often than not, found ridiculously believing that there are no classes in Black society in America at all; or anywhere else in the world among African peoples for that matter. When a plane falls should we question the principles of flight theory, in general, or should we question the judgement of the engineer or that of the pilot?

This leads us to why it is necessary, or better still, why it is essential that a class analysis is made. If a political activist does not understand the dynamics of what it is that the activist is dealing with, then he/she will, despite all of the good intentions in the world, be doomed to commit an endless string of errors and will become a burden to the conscious movement of the people. Put simply, a class analysis is essential for effective organizing. It helps an organizer to understand the particular limitation of certain strata of the population and realize the potential of others for organization and self-organization.

Another important aspect of the concept of social class should be reaffirmed here. It has been mentioned earlier. A class is not just a collection of individuals. However, a sufficiently large number is necessary in order for it to constitute a political force. Beyond that, a class is a qualitative thing that is more than just any collectivity of individuals. For example, if we go back to the period of slavery and do an analysis of the classes that existed within the African society in

America at that time, we will find that not only did there exist the African chattel slave, and the various classes among the "free-Africans" who were primarily to be found in the North; but there existed a small group of Africans who themselves owned slaves. Since the number of slave owning Africans was so small and did not constitute a sufficient social force, it is *not* necessary to dwell upon them or even to mention them in a class analysis of African society in that period of its development. They were not quantitatively sufficient to be a qualitative social entity.

Just as in the development of anything, owing to the relative strength of those opposing aspects which are internal to it and which characterizes it at a given moment in its development, changes take place within society from one moment in history to the next. So it is with the historical development of the class configuration of African society in America.

To be more precise, if we were to do a class analysis of African society in 1850, in America, it would have to contain a chattel slave category as a social class. The African chattel slave class consisted of approximately 3,200,000 slaves, themselves costing about $51.90 each, producing an annual crop worth about $165,084,517.00.[15] Quite a substantial force, indeed. The great majority of our people were slaves in the southern part of a nation state in which two distinctive forms of the same mode of production was co-existing. They were complimentary of each other at first. Later they were to become antagonistic toward one another resulting in a Civil War.

By 1880 chattel slavery as a category had been replaced by sharecropping or, what some would call, a landed peasantry as well as a landless peasantry or rural proletariat as class categories. There was also developing then an embryonic Black industrial working class, mostly in the northern states where metropolitan capitalist production relationships were more mature.

If we did a class analysis of Black society as it existed in 1920, we would find a relatively strong landed yeomanry, with the small landholding peasantry having, perhaps, the greatest numerical weight along with a significant landless rural proletariat. In the urban areas of the rapidly urbanizing north, and in some parts of the less urbanized south, a Black industrial and service working class strata was becoming an important factor to reckon with. By the twenties and thirties, a petit-

bourgeoisie was beginning to take shape and grow in strength in the southern towns and cities and to some slightly lesser extent in the northern cities. This new urban petit-bourgeoisie sprang from the rural yeomanry and to some extent from the earlier urbanized sector of the industrial and service populations.

This particular analysis is concerned with the class configuration of Black society in America as it looks in the early '70's or in this historical moment(1976). It is no more and hopefully it will be no less.

It will proceed by: (1) describing the economic and political position of a class grouping within the broader society, (2) showing the economic basis for the dominant ideas within that class grouping, and (3) demonstrating the strength and the weaknesses of the class formation with regard to organization and self-organization, its capacity for discipline, and some general characteristics of cadre with that particular class origin as part of their personal histories.

But before we get into the actual categorization of the classes, it might be helpful if we say a word about where it is that people and classes get their ideas and ideologies from in the first place. As Mao Tse-Tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (C.C.P.) has so sharply stated, in his essay entitled "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From":

> Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking.[16]

It is through the relationship of a particular class formation to the production process, the most basic and essential activity of any society, that it gets its social orientation. Just as the sun, the basic source of all energy, in the solar system, is the point of orientation of things within it, so is the point of production within a given society.

The consciousness on the part of individuals of the objective position of the class to which they belong within a larger society, that is, their class consciousness, is an unevenly developing process. At any given moment in its conscious development an advanced class relative to

other sectors of the population, might contain a significant number of backward individuals. Again, we are talking about a social class not as just a mere collectivity of individuals; but as a qualitatively distinctive historical force. To the extent that the subjective perceptions of an individual coincides with the objective social implications of the relationship that the class of which he is a member has to the production process, he or she is said to be class conscious. To the extent that a class as a whole becomes able to demonstrate, through its struggle with and against other class forces, that it possesses an increasing capacity to engage in historically significant action in its own behalf, it is said to be conscious. The consciousness of a class is different from the class consciousness of an individual. A class' consciousness of itself as a whole is not determined by the mere arithmetic summation of the consciousness of individual members that make it up. It is something qualitatively different. It is, in the final analysis, the consciousness of classes not that of individuals that drives history, although the increasing class consciousness in individuals is a part of this overall process.

An additional dynamic is operative here. In the process of the developing consciousness of a class, individuals from other classes may consciously and deliberately take on the ideological character of the class in question. This occurs to a greater extent within the middle stratum of the population as the pre-revolutionary sharp polarization begins to take place. Karl Marx has something to say about this process:

> No class in civil society can play this part (that of the emancipator) unless it can arouse, in itself and in the masses, a moment of enthusiasm in which it associates and mingles with society at large, identifies itself with it, and is felt and recognized as the general representative of this society. Its aims and interests must genuinely be the aims and interests of society itself, of which it becomes in reality the social head and heart. It is only in the name of general interests that a particular class can claim supremacy. In order to attain this liberating position, and the political direction of all spheres of society, revolutionary energy and consciousness of its own power do not suffice. For a popular revolution and the emancipation of a particular class of civil society to coincide, for one class to represent the whole society, another class

> must concentrate in itself all the evils of society, a particular class must embody and represent a general obstacle and limitation.[17]

As the sharpening of forces in any society that is in its pre-revolutionary or revolutionary stage of development occurs, elements from the middle stratum peel off and join either the forces of reaction or the forces of revolution and bring what skill that they might possess to the side of their choice. Hence, we have a concept called "class suicide." That is, elements of a certain class origin can take the ideological stand of another class as a conscious and deliberate act. Amilcar Cabral, the Secretary-General of the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau, has addressed himself to this problem relative to the African continental petit-bourgeoisie and other underdeveloped situations.[18] His formulations have great value to us. We will further consider this a little later when we begin to discuss the nature of the African petit-bourgeoisie in North America.

There is general consensus that there exists two basic classes in the oppressed Black national formation; the petit-bourgeoisie and the huge masses which constitute the laboring class, of which the marginally employed youth is a very significant sector. There is also a grouping within our society which has been the source of much ideological confusion, the declassed sector or the lumpen.

IV. Black Bourgeoisie—Myth or Historical Reality

Because of the national character of the oppression of Black society, certain distortions have taken place within its class configuration. Under these circumstances this type of phenomenon seems to be logical and is found, to a greater or lesser extent, within all oppressed nations and national formations. For our society it has resulted in the fact that no sector of the Black population in America has ownership of any significant aspect of the means of industrial production or any significant proportion of the finance capital that is responsible for the generation of the real wealth of this society. What is being said here is that historical conditions did not allow for the emergence of a Black bourgeoisie as a *social force* operating within our national formation. It did, however, set the conditions for the creation of quite a unique petit-

bourgeoisie. It is of interest that a similar though far from identical process of class configurational distortion took place within the historical development of continental African society as well.

Many in our movement have taken the position that there is such a thing as the Black bourgeoisie in all its classical dimensions.[19] Historically the capitalist class or bourgeoisie is the class formation that has fashioned the nation state which is the political creature issuing from the womb of the developing perception of its own economic position and historical potential within one or another of certain European societies. It therefore, seems paradoxical that many Black activist intellectuals who agree that there is a Black bourgeoisie are reluctant to push the concept of a historically developed Black nation within the borders of the U.S. which requires national state status as part of a revolutionary program.[20] On the other hand, we find that others have seen fit to put forth the formation of a nation state made up of Black people in America as a programmatic formulation without posting the existence of a Black bourgeoisie.[21] Here it is necessary to raise two interrelated questions for consideration only. Firstly, what does self-determination mean programmatically for Black people in a struggle for a socialist America which is an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialistic struggle? And secondly, in the epoch of imperialism, if a Black bourgeoisie is co-existing within the same nation state with a white bourgeoisie what is the historical role of the Black bourgeoisie? It goes beyond our limited tasks to seriously consider in any substantial detail such an intricate set of formulations. These questions are merely raised in order to fully appreciate where a serious and comprehensive examination of this area of thought would have to take us.

It is our contention here that, in fact, no Black bourgeoisie exists as a social force. Several mistakes are being made in this regard. Many simply look at the fortunes of certain Black individuals and based upon this approach, count their waged employees and conclude that a Black bourgeoisie exists as a social force. This is analogous to arriving at the determination that a Black plantocracy existed based upon a head count of slaves owned by a single Black plantation owner. The question is not whether one is able to find a few Black persons that might even fit the definition of the classical bourgeoisie, but whether they are significant enough to engage in meaningful historical action in their own behalf. And,

of course, their capacity to do so is based upon whether or not they have been able to take control of a significant proportion of the industrial, or other means, of production along with market domains within which they have hegmony as a class buttressed by supportive financial capital to insure the fluidity of the flow of commodities—commodities which are produced by a wage laboring population in unity with accumulated raw capital which they own and control.

Upon looking more closely at what many have been calling the "Black bourgeoisie" we find that this stratum of the population is nothing more than a grouping of petit capitalists of the comprador type, tied directly to the white metropolitan sectors. Plainly, owing to certain historical factors, it is a petit-bourgeois stratum that these writers have in their formulations.

An example of the mistaken identification of a Black bourgeoisie within Black society is the recent formulations advanced by Abdul Hakimu Ibn Alkalimat and Nelson Johnson. They wrote:

> ...This Black Bourgeoisie has long been in the making, with the period of the latter part of the 19th century, early 1900's and that of the 1960's being high points.[22]

This is a very questionable statement. In the 1880's the White American bourgeoisie was just consolidating its industrial and financial interests as it began to move through a period of monopoly capitalism. To say that this was a "high point" within the development of a Black bourgeoisie appears not to be supported by historical examination. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie and the petit-bourgeoisie are classes which exist as part of an urban class configuration. The overwhelming majority of the Black population up until the Second Imperialist World War was rural. The class that dominated Black society during that period (the turn of the century) was a Black rural landed yeomanry. Ideologically, it dominated. Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute was the spokesman and institutional base, respectively, of that stratum of Black society.[23] Alkalimat and Johnson go on in their section on the "Black bourgeoisie" to say that:

> There are approximately 112,500 (1959) businesses owned and run by Black people in the USA today (constituting 2.25%

> of over 5 million businesses in the USA). This reflects the boom in black businesses resulting from the Black advance during the 1960's and the pay-off attempted bribe plan of Nixon's Black capitalist program. This class formation has two qualitatively different and distinct sectors, one is based upon the formation of capi tal within the Black community and makes up the Black Bourgeoisie that is *National* in character; the other is based upon capital investment from major (white) corporations and makes up the Black bourgeoisie that is *comprador* in character.[24]

What was happening to the masses of Black people during the 50's and 60's? We were being transformed from a rural peasant and landless proletariat into an unurbanized proletarian people. We were siphoned off the land into large cities; cities which were controlled by the White metropolitan bourgeoisie directly. It was, therefore, impossible for a Black bourgeoisie to accumulate any significant amounts of capital within a urban situation in which a metropolitan White bourgeoisie had gained and exercised hegemony for some time. Only the marginal recesses of the capitalist domestic market remained opened as almost all significant production was carried out by Black and White labor working within different levels of white capitalism.

Though straining our imaginations, it is impossible for us to agree that the businesses that are mentioned by Alkalimat and Johnson are, for the most part, capitalist production enterprises. The implication that "businesses", however vague the definition might be, created by a metropolitan capitalist regime have the capacity of having independent national characteristics is, at least, suspect. The comprador character of a section of the Black *petit-bourgeoisie* is conceded.

The Alkalimat and Johnson exposition reveals that they are, in fact, talking about a *petit-bourgeoisie* when they use the category "businesses." They go on to say:

> Of the largest 100 Black businesses only 30% have a comprador character indicating that even for the largest level most of the businesses have a national character, while the majority of others most certainly do (i.e., the corner grocery stores, beauty parlors, etc.).[25]

"Corner grocery stores, beauty parlors," are hardly capitalist production enterprises of the type that would qualify those who operate them on the spot as capitalist especially in metropolitan North America.

At this point the writers in question put forth the curious proposition that:

> ...the historical trend is turning into its opposite with the largest Black businesses more and more reflecting the penetration of the Black community by capital from the large (white) corporations.[26]

Where does this leave us? It leaves us at the point where our Alkalimat and Johnson have agreed to the negation of the *National* sector of the so-called Black bourgeoisie. We have only the comprador sector left which, admittedly, is the creature of white corporate capital and therefore has no independent existence. It operates as a mediator between the large white corporations and limited local markets and, in that sense, is marginal. It would seem that the descriptive category *petit* would more aptly fit such a stratum.

Alkalimat and Johnson have, in all of this, pointed to an important feature of the stratum which they have chosen to call a *Black bourgeoisie* and which others have chosen to call a *Black petit-bourgeoisie*—this is the fact that it is divided into two separate camps. Perhaps that is their saving grace.

V. The Black Petit-Bourgeoisie

Taking a quick glance at our own petit-bourgeoisie will show that it is not monolithic. A very noticeable characteristic is that it is split owing to our oppressed national situation within the production process as well as the market of the American national economy. This cleavage within it is the result of two interacting factors. One is objective and the other comes from the objective but reveals itself in a subjective way.

Ernie Mkalimoto, formerly with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers of Detroit, in his pamphlet *Revolutionary Nationalism and the Class Struggle*, has put his finger on the objective basis of the split character of the Black petit-bourgeoisie when he writes:

> The Black petit-bourgeoisie is divided into two fundamental categories, reflecting qualitatively different relations existing between the U.S. economy and the two sectors within this class. On the one hand we have the educated, black elite; technicians, scientists, engineers, doctors, lawyers, professional managers, and the like, who gain their livelihood through direct participation in the dominant economy. On the other hand we find owners of small ghetto enterprises (generally, single-proprietorships): liquor stores, wig shops, grocery markets, restaurants, barbershops, pool halls, etc.,—in short a relatively insignificant sector of the economy.[27]

The Amilcar Cabral, addressing a Lincoln University audience about the transformation of the consciousness of the indigenous lower middle sector of the continental African petit-bourgeoisie, revealed another aspect of the split character of that class:

> It (the development of national consciousness within the Afrian continental petit-bourgeoisie) is a slow process, broken up and uneven, whose development depends upon the degree of acculturation of each individual, of the material circumstances of his life, on the forming of his ideas and on his experience as a social animal. This unevenness is the basis of the split of the indigenous lower middle class into three groups when confronted with the liberation movement: a) a majority, which even if it wants to see an end to foreign domination clings to the dominant colonialist class and openly opposes the movement to protect its social position; b) a majority of people who are hesitant and in decisive; c) another minority of people who share in the building and leadership of the liberation movement.[28]

The interaction between these two factors, though Mkalimoto refers to the African petit-bourgeoisie in the context of North America and Cabral is concerned with the African continental petit-bourgeoisie, is relevant and has great utility. These basic concepts have applicability in both cases to a greater or lesser degree, as a matter of general principle, even though we are here primarily concerned with the African petit-bourgeoisie in North America.

The differences within the petit-bourgeoisie's relationship to the dominant economy in the, first instance, and the unevenness in the development of national consciousness within it, in the second case, are both inter-related propositions. The split character of this class results in and causes a compounding of all manner of ideological vacillation and confusion which appears to be without pattern. Looking closer at these two aspects of the same problem, we find that one is dealing with the objective basis of the problem and the other is dealing with the radicalization process itself.

It comes as no surprise then that those who depend most upon the dominant economy (i.e. the educated elite) in order to maintain their privilege are the strongest advocates of the petit-bourgeois reform notions that are often referred to as "integration" and "assimilation" as the solution of the problem of the oppression of the masses of our people. It, likewise, should come as no shock that the origin of the ideas of Black economic enterprise based upon private nominal ownership of small Black business concerns using white bourgeois economic models as an end in themselves; in short, the origin of the ideology of Black petit-bourgeois Nationalism can be found to come from these proprietors of marginal ghetto establishments. The ideological split and the great amount of vacillation becomes clearer as the relative degree of dependency within it, as a consequence of the movement of the Black laboring masses, gains momentum. As the petit-bourgeois Nationalist sector becomes more "separatist" in its outlook, that is, it comes to appreciate the need for independent all Black organizational formations. While, on the other side of the split, the "integrationist" sector first becomes reformist and later, non-nationalist socialist due to the weight of Euro-american bourgeois education soaked up over the years. It is important to note that terms like "integration," "assimilation" reveal themselves to be ideological categories that serve those that presently rule. The political essence of these ideological notions are reform and are based, in some way, upon the conceptualization of American society as pluralistic. This is the orientation that is taught at every level within bourgeois educational institutions.

What has been termed "Black Nationalism" can be interpreted to mean simply an affirmation of the right of Black people to organize as Blacks independent of all layers of white society in America to more effectively

address the particular nature of our problems flowing from the distinctive nature of our position in the country. But independent Black organization for reform as an end in itself is what is often referred to as Black petit-bourgeois nationalism, and is insufficient. So then, both sectors of the Black petit-bourgeoisie are, in essence, for reform—the educated elite, owing to their position in the society, are putting forth such notions as "integration," and "assimilation." On the other hand, we have small marginal Black business proprietors advancing hazy ideological concepts of "do for self" along with separation leaving American capitalism intact. Initially, both sectors are not in opposition to capitalism. In fact they will defend it, as reformers must. However, in the final analysis, elements from both sectors will join the independent Black movement in its struggle for socialism and their class itself will fragment as a direct result if mass pressure as the struggle continues and their own frustration mounts against the existing order as a consequence of that struggle. This class cannot escape this process. So, the differences between these two sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie with regard to the radicalization process lies in the different ideological roads taken to arrive at an ideological position supportive of the anti-capitalist independent Black struggle for self-determination and socialism. This ideological position is sometimes referred to as Black revolutionary Pan-Africanism within the international context.

In the south the petit-bourgeoisie is relatively large. There are only a few businesses that are not so marginal. Even so the great depression took its toll on these Black businesses. Both sectors of this class are stronger in this region because of several historical factors. There is evidence that after slavery there developed a relatively small but stable class of landed peasants who owned good size plots (the Black yeomanry referred to earlier). Many even had Black tenant farmers renting from and working for them. This particular class was able to gain access—because of their relatively privileged position—to education and certain business skills and a limited amount of financial and other capital. So that a large number of the elements that make up the Black petit-bourgeoisie came from this stratum.

Institutionalized segregation with its separate economy and small protected markets in certain consumables and services also facilitated the development of this class. The fact that the predominantly Negro

colleges are located, for the most part, in the south served to aid this process. Many within this class can trace their personal histories, within one generation, back to this sector of the population that owned and controlled larged amounts of land. This is not withstanding the fact that there are many elements within the present petit-bourgeoisie that can also trace their personal histories back to the landless peasantry within a single generation. But the latter remains relatively rare especially within the old guard petit-bourgeoisie in the south. The urban petit-bourgeoisie is historically older and more stable in that region partly for these reasons.

Another factor of great importance is the fact that there has been a significant group of wage laborers in the cities of the south during slavery and to a greater extent after slavery, of which skilled labor was a significant part. Although there was a systematic attempt to do away with Black skilled labor in the south, especially within the larger cities, a significant number of artisans remained during and after the so-called "reconstruction."[29] This small number of early arriving elements of the working class in the cities was privileged relative to the rest of Black society in America because they were not as indebted and as trapped within the agricultural sector as the large landless peasantry and had more skill with and financial flexibility in the urban money economy. This was also happening in the north to a large degree owing to a large number of "Freedmen" arriving there even before the abolition of slavery. Therefore, many elements entered the Black petit-bourgeoisie in its early years in this manner. But the huge majority of the slaves became landless peasants and then later marginal wage laborers. Only now can we be considered to have a stable proletariat or in more precise terms, it is only now that we can be considered a stable proletarian people.

Recently, a large number of the sons and daughters of workers are becoming professionals bringing to a large extent, their class consciousness with them. This is an important development.

As we look at the over-all situation with the relative strength of the classes within Black society in the south there is much evidence to demonstrate that the class struggle within our society will become more intense. We will have to return to this matter after a while.

Political activists from the petit-bourgeoisie have both positive and negative features about themselves. The revolutionary theoreticians

that usually come from the radical intelligentsia are part of this class. They can conceptualize and understand the intricate political and economic problems facing the revolution. This does not mean that political activists from the working class cannot conceptualize and understand the intricate political and economic problems facing the revolution. Quite to the contrary, in situations like ours where the petit-bourgeoisie is young, for the most part, especially in the north, where there is no large illiterate peasantry, in fact where there is no peasantry at all anymore, where all sectors of the society are brutally oppressed, and where public access to education and information generally is easy; any Black worker can develop a deep and abiding understanding of the objective situation of our people and firmly grasp its historical implications. Cadre from this class, however, have certain limitations placed upon them because of their situation—they are too busy selling their labor and are usually very tired from selling it to survive, that they usually cannot devote the time or the energy required in this direction. There are other factors, but we have gone as far in this direction as our purposes warrant.

The activists from the Black petit-bourgeoisie have good administrative skills and understand the necessity for a systematic approach to things. But they have a fundamental orientation problem. Sometimes they require a great deal of cultural and ideological work because of it. Because they do not know what side they are on, they tend to hold the masses in great contempt just as the white bourgeoisie does. Even as they begin to radicalize, their cynicism reveals the manifestation of this lack of orientation and their contempt for the revolutionary capacity of the common people requires that what Cabral termed "class suicide"[30] begin to take place so that they can become more effective agents of history. The "niggers ain't shit-ism" syndrome is a very pervasive characteristic partly reflective of the frustration of the marginal existence of this class within the metropolitan capitalist system. Their contempt for the living, changing and developing culture of their people is, because of their self-hatred and their distorted world view, often very noticeable. When these shortcomings are overcome through continued struggle, work and meaningful study, elements from the petit-bourgeoisie make good political activists in the service of our people.

VI. The Black Working Class

Let us now turn to Black workers as a class within the oppressed Black national formation within multi-national America. This class has the greatest revolutionary potential owing to its objective position as essential and indispensable to the production of the material wealth of American society. The black working class in America has its historical origin within the infamous Atlantic Slave Trade which laid the basis for the accumulation of the wealth of what is now the Euro-American world. The story of African labor and its exploitation in the western hemisphere is familiar to us because it has served to benefit all sectors of Euro-American society and the surpluses derived there have served as an essential ingredient in the creation of privileges that have resulted in the ideologically degenerate values that are found within its superstructure of which "racism" or "white chauvinism" is the most prominent. The new world African toiler was first exploited as a chattel slave, then as a sharecropper and peon, and now as an urbanized industrial worker. Though the form of his exploitation has changed somewhat, exploitation is, and has been the most basic thematic factor within the history of this stratum. That is why it is this stratum that best embodies the exploitative nature of our peoples's historic relationship to the international capitalist system.

The Black urban working class is composed of many lower level service and production workers within the massive governmental bureaucracy and in private industry. These are the people who work in the lowest paying, most dangerous, and dirtiest jobs in the factories, and are also the most vital to the dominant economy. Members of this stratum of the population are the ones that go to work everyday and maintain a constant and stable relationship to the production process in this society. It is they that are, by far, the most quantitatively numerous within the Black national formation in the wilderness of North America.

Because of their distrust of the white working class owing to its privileged position coupled with their understanding of the limitations of the Black petit-bourgeoisie, the Black working class knows the importance of an independent revolutionary struggle for self-determination and socialism. They also have grasped the meaning of establishing a basis for principled unity with the Black petit-

bourgeoisie, especially in the pre-revolutionary reform struggle within metropolitan America against institutionalized white chauvinism and for democratic rights—a struggle which has already begun within capitalist society but cannot reach its logical conclusion until reform changes into revolution as the democratic struggle within capitalism changes into a revolutionary struggle for socialism. It should be mentioned here that the Black national formation, in general, constitutes a sector of metropolitan capitalist society. It, therefore, is privileged to a limited extent in comparison with all sections of society in the underdeveloped world, with the exceptions of white settler populations and possibly, in some cases, a developed indigenous bourgeois and/or petit-bourgeois stratum. But within the metropole itself, however, the working class within the Black national formation is the most oppressed and exploited layer of the whole society. It, along with other strata of the national formation to which it belongs go to make up the left sector of the metropolitan democratic forces, and has historically acted to throttle the periodic ascendancy of fascism.

This class as a social force constitutes the essence of the revolutionary presence of a third world population within a metropolitan society. Its dialectical opposite can be found in the reactionary presence of the white settler populations within the underdeveloped world. The Black working class is, therefore, a pivotal social force within the world revolutionary process.

As the Black struggle for bourgeois democratic reform turns into a self-determining independent struggle for socialism in America, the Black working class will remain its backbone.

It has been proven to be disciplined, stable, and decisive in its action. It is, however, slow to move and to commit itself. This, all important, layer of the population possesses great creativity and strength and has many valuable lessons to teach activists about the real and essential nature and direction of the social struggle.

Political activist cadre from this social grouping usually have a steady and consistent work style. They also demonstrate much caution and deliberation, and make excellent activists.

VII. The Street Force Stratum of the Black Working Class

Part of this black industrial labor force is what some writers have

come to call the "street force."[31] Though there has been no elaboration of the economic relationship of it to the principle means of production, it seems to be an historically meaningful class category. This failure to arrive at a scientific definition of this grouping has resulted in the confusion, by many, of the "street force" with what Karl Marx has called the "Lumpen proletariat." This is, of course, an error. The street force is a legitimate stratum of marginal workers that developed due to the peculiar form that our national exploitation has taken and of the labor requirements of modern capitalism within its present stage of development within a metropolitan area.

The army of the unemployed is swollen with Black youth. They work at the point of production and in the service sector and are socialized and disciplined by this productive activity, but they are not allowed to remain at the same job constantly. They, therefore, maintain a relatively stable relationship to the production process, but they do not have a constant relationship to it. For example, in Detroit, if a worker works for ninety (90) days, he becomes entitled to some job protection by the union. So he/she is laid-off at the end of the 86th or 87th day, and is maintained in a pool of reserve labor until such time as the requirements of production in the same plant or another one again needs his/her labor.

The street force also has great transitional historical significance. It developed within the ghettoes of the American cities as the position of Black people within the metropolitan economy was shifting from a rural sharecropping work force to an urbanized industrial and supportive services work force. The street force, therefore, represents the marginal status of an unskilled labor surplus which resulted from this transition.

Because of the precarious economic conditions of their lives "the street force"often become the victims of the instruments of direct force operative within the society. It is for that reason that they make up the vast majority of the American prison population.

It is the street force and the youth section of the Black laboring class that represents the quick anger and righteous indignation of our people. Elements from this grouping are characterized by great enthusiasm, and courage. Their impulses, responses, and general orientation are sharp. They are the most vigorous sector of the Black

national formation. There is, however, a slight tendency toward adventurism, which study and political struggle will temper. Political activists from this section, besides showing courage and enthusiasm, demonstrate a remarkable willingness to learn and make excellent agitators. They sometimes lack administrative skills but pick them up rapidly. Revolutionary Black culture is readily embraced by and is transmitted through them, which comes from their relatively sound world view and their willingness to struggle. From their unique position within the society they are easily able to comprehend the white chauvinist nature of the police and para-military apparatus of the American state. That is why they continue to insist upon militant, independent Black organizational formations. Within this national consciousness there is also a class dimension owing to their relationship to production. Ideologically then, advanced individuals from this section of the Black working class, like the class itself, embrace some forms of the ideological position that we have come to describe as revolutionary Black nationalism, or revolutionary Pan-Africanism. They become leading activist cadre because of their marginal character within the larger society. They have the time to devote, like the petit-bourgeois activist, to political activity.

VIII. The Black Declassed Sector

Now let us consider a section of the population that many continue to confuse with the street force. This grouping is the Lumpen proletariat. The confusion centers around the question of the unemployment or disemployment of certain elements within the work force. Many hold that unemployed or disemployed Black workers automatically become de-classed, and therefore, lumpen as a result of increasing cybernation and automation, which is eliminating unskilled and semi-skilled jobs hand over fist. This process has been referred to as the "lumpenization of the black working class."[32]

While it is true that the classical definition of the lumpen proletariat did involve unemployment as one of the aspects of this historical category introduced by Karl Marx to describe the sections of the population cast aside in the transition of European societies from feudalism to capitalism. It is also true that our people have undergone a transition, but the transition is not the same. The essential character of the transition for

Black people has been a move from a landless peasant population within the periphery of a metropolitan capitalist system into an urban industrial and service working population operative within the same system. While some genuine "lumpenization" did occur as a consequence of this process, it would be an error to assume that all people who are not working at a given moment—owing to the chaotic nature of capitalist production—constitute the lumpenproletariat.

Of course, this error has many deadly ideological implications as witnessed in our recent history by the many mistakes of the Black Panther Organization. The critical aspect of the definition of the lumpen is to be found in the fact that it has no relationship to the production process whatsoever. As a consequence they only participate within the economy as consumers and are, therefore, undisciplined, and unstable. Since classes develop their ideological orientation and outlook from their relationship to the social process of production in any given society; and since the lumpen psuedo-stratum is declassed and disoriented, it is unable to play a leadership role in the struggle as a unified formation acting in its own behalf. There are, however, individuals from this grouping who may play very significant roles. Again, the roles of individuals should never be confused with those of classes.

There are many who may be guilty of confusing the lumpen with the more corrupt section of the Black petit-bourgeoisie. Just because Karl Marx said that pimps, and gamblers were part of the 19th century European lumpen, they conclude that even though a pimp owns a large chain of hotels where he keeps a great many women or large chain of after hours gambling halls, he is part of the lumpen proletariat. That is an error of great magnitude. True, there are some declassed elements within our society, but to dogmatically apply a model intended for use in a different historical context will prove to be fruitless and in the long run dangerous.

Because they are not totally outside of civil society and because they are also victims of the national oppression that our people suffer at the hands of the American state instruments of terror, they do possess a capacity for the development of some rudimentary form of what might be regarded as national consciousness or "race consciousness". In the earlier stages this group will join whatever side

that may reward them in some way. They are the sources of much information and will give it to anybody. They must be neutralized and an appeal made to their latent nationalist sentiment. They are tricky and possess a great deal of flexibilty. That is the lesson that critical observation of their style and manner has to teach activists. Political organizers should strive to remain tactically flexible and even resort to trickery, if necessary, while at the same time never sacrificing revolutionary principles.

Summary

What has been attempted here is an examination of the class basis of the contending ideological strains which exist within the "Black national formation" in America. This was done within the overall framework of a class analysis of the historically developed class configuration that presently characterizes it. Particular attention was given to the observed characteristics of cadre with particular class backgrounds. The analysis was designed to facilitate activist participation in the organization and self organization of mass working class movements. Just as with any other set of formulations, it is certain that these will become richer and richer still as they are subjected to, and are redefined as the struggle of Black working people continues to unfold.

Notes

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12. Nkrumah, Kwame, *Class Struggle in Africa*, (New York, International Press, 1970), p. 23.

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14. Lukacs, Georg, *History and Class Consciousness*, (Cambridge, 1971), p.51.

15. The estimated values indicated here varied from year to year, but may be regarded as fairly accurate in Foster, William Z. *The Negro in American History*, (New York, International Press, 1954), p.234.

16. Tse-Tung, Mao, *Four Essays on Philosophy*, (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1968), p.134.

17. The usage of the concepts of "good" and "evil" seem to be subjective and feudal in origin. The moral implications are imprecise in their application from a scientific point of view. But here Marx is applying these terms descriptively and subjectively to give some indication of what the masses may "feel". For the quote see Bottomore, T.B., ed; *Karl Marx: Early Writings*, (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 55-56.

18. Cabral, Amilcar, *The Struggle in Guinea,* (Cambridge, Mass., The African Research Group), 1968, pp. 440-442. Here Cabral is addressing the problem of cadre building.

19. Alkaimat, Abdul Hakimu Ibn, and Nelson Johnson, *Toward the Ideological Unity of The African Liberation Support Committee: A response to Criticisms of the ALSC Statement of Principles Adopted to Frogmore, South Carolina—June-July, 1973:* International Steering Committee African Liberation Support Committee, February 1-3, 1974, Greensboro, North Carolina, ALSC Document. This position paper represented a tendency in a developing internal ideological struggle with the ALSC.

20. *Ibid.*

21. The ideological documents of the Republic of New Africa and those of the African People's Party.

22. Alkalimat and Johnson, *op. cit.*, section (85).

23. The much heralded conflict between the ideological positions of W.E.B. Dubois and Booker T. Washington is reflective of a conflict between the rural and urban sections of Black society during that time. Dubois

represented the developing urban petit-bourgeoisie—both the educated elite and the business sectors which were pushing for democratic rights along with the small urban working class. His elitism came from the petit-bourgeoisie class dimension within his over-all pluralistic notions. On the other hand, Washington advocated a southern pluralism in which democratic rights were not pushed for. The Black yeomanry was a landed elite which historically depended upon the good will of white urbanized capital. It, therefore, did not come out for democratic rights in opposition to "Jim Crow" because such rights would allow Black market on relatively equal terms with white labor which was not in the interest of metropolitan capitalism at that time. Jim Crow kept the Black landless peasantry on the land not only for the exploitation of the white plantation owner in unity with the northern finance and industrial capital, but for the exploitation of the Black yeomanry as well.

24. Alkalimat and Johnson, *op. cit.,* section (86).

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CHAPTER 4

The Democratic Struggle of Black People of the Caribbean and the U.S: From Black Power to Black Workers' Power

The general process of social change though complex, in the long run, exhibits a logical consistency as well as an overall historical continuity.[1] It is, therefore, the purpose and focus of this chapter to establish a general pattern within the logical transformation of the Black Power Movement into a genuine movement of class conscious Black workers and peasants-focusing on the Anglo-phone Caribbean. An interconnected comparative configuration of descriptive social factors and events will be established between the Black Power Movement in the United States and its counterpart within the Black archipelago in the western hemisphere called the Caribbean Islands. Within this analysis, an assessment will be made of both situations, comparatively considered, in their counter-revolutionary and revolutionary dimensions which in turn will be placed within the general context of the dynamically unfolding process of social change.[2]

I. The Rise of Black Power in the United States

It is clear that what has become known as the Black Power Movement in the United States had its origin within the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights on the part of Africans within the southern region, in particular, and throughout the country, in general. This anti Jim Crow struggle called the "Civil Rights Movement" was a mass movement and as such it contained within it different classes of Black people. A struggle for bourgeois democratic rights among Black people had been going on in the northern region for many decades but as it exploded upon the southern landscape it announced to the world that the objective economic position of the Black laboring population had changed.

As a result of the industrial and commercial imperatives brought on by a number of factors, among them: 1) the unprecedented expansion of state financed military-industrial raw capital as a result of production for

the markets in military and military-related hardware created by the Second Imperialist World War; 2) the requirement of huge quantities of labor in the urban areas acting in unity with this new capital as the traditional sources of white labor in Europe were cut off; 3) the rise of aluminum, petro-chemical, and mineral elaboration, the expansion, centralization and concentration of textiles, agribusiness and lumber-paper monopolies, and the ascendancy of the aero-space and military supportive sectors; 4) consequent to the foregoing, the use of increasing quantities of Black labor in dockage in the south Atlantic and Gulf ports; 5) and finally, the expansion of the supportive state sector, primarily in communications and transportation that accompanied and aided this kind of growth, the south was transformed.

Because of these and other factors, the Black laboring population from the rural south was transformed into a substantial proportion of a metropolitan multi-national urban and rural proletariat within the south, the far west and the northern regions of the new North American top metropole.

The bourgeois democratic movement had far greater implications in the south however. This was a result of the changes that it brought to the regional polity and the resistance that it received from the entrenched local yeomanry operating in league with the local white petit-bourgeoisie bound together by traditional agricultural linkages, and the common need to continue to exploit Black labor. The resistance derived from these sources proved stiff indeed.

i. Violence verses Nonviolence

The struggle for class hegemony within this democratic movement which sprang from the enraged Black urban proletariat of Montgomery, Alabama (1955) took many different tactical and ideological forms. For example, the debate on the question of violence seemed to be an argument over tactics. But it was more than just that. This debate revealed a deeper social divide. It was the manifestation of a much more fundamental class struggle within the Black movement.

The use of violence for the Black working class was merely a tactical question, but for the Black petit-bourgeoisie it was raised to the level of an ideological principle in itself. For the Black petit-bourgeoisie, violence had to be raised to this level because of the

reform essence of its struggle as a class. To keep open the destruction of the American state by violence as a tactical option was to entertain the notion of revolution.

Personalities and organizations were the vehicle by which this intra Black struggle played itself out—Martin L. King vs. Malcolm X, SCLC vs. SNCC as well as internal clashes within organizations over questions like the right of Blacks to organize independently of all strata of white society.

The Civil Rights Movement was a populous movement for Black Power from the beginning. Under the leadership of an opportunistic petit-bourgeoisie it was projected by the big white American bourgeoisie around the world as a movement for "integration." "Integration", meant that it was the ultimate goal of the movement to leave American capitalistic society structurally intact while a sector of the Black petit- bourgeoisie took its place alongside the larger white bourgeois and petit-bourgeois bureaucrats and functionaries within the existing state apparatus. The 1963 "March in Washington" affirmed the unity of this utopian, reformistic alliance of both the Black and white elites.

The movement was purposely projected as a struggle for "integration" by the ruling American bourgeoisie through its henchmen, the white and Black petit-bourgeoisie. This was done to obscure the class nature of American society and to gloss over the class struggle as the most essential dynamic of the society. "Integration", therefore, served and continues to serve as a slogan raised by the petit- bourgeoisie within the context of what is essentially a social democratic struggle on the part of the Black section of the American proletariat. "Black power" was a slogan which was a reaction to the constraints and limitations, both tactically and ideologically, put upon this social democratic upsurge by a section of the Black petit-bourgeoisie acting at the behest of the big white bourgeoisie.

ii. The Working Class Origin of Black Power

As this massive social democratic thrust gained momentum, the class nature of the internal struggle going on within it came forward for all to see. By the spring of 1964, although "Black Power" as a slogan was not yet on the lips of the Black working class, tactical

nonviolence was changing into the exercise of violence as a means of self-defense and attack; first against the stiffened southern reaction and then against the American social order itself. In April of that same year, Malcolm X was saying that:

> A couple of weeks ago in Jacksonville, Florida, a young teenage Negro was throwing Molotov cocktails.[2]

Malcolm continues his description of what was happening in the minds of the ordinary Black working man and woman:

> Well, Negroes didn't do this ten years ago. But what you should learn from this is that they are waking up. It was stones yesterday, Molotov cocktails today; it will be hand grenades tomorrow and whatever else is available the next day...There are 22 million African-Americans who are ready to fight, for independence right here...I don't mean any nonviolent fight, or turn-the-other-cheek fight.
> Those days are over. Those days are gone.[3]

Malcolm was demonstrating his clear political perception. The bankruptcy of the petit-bourgeoisie was beginning to force the Black working class to assert itself revealing a much different historical course along which it was traveling. The movement was beginning to shift gears, or in social terms, shift in its class leadership. The articulated "nonviolent integration" of the Black petit-bourgeoisie was beginning to give way to the exercise of the right of independent self-organization or the "Black Nationalism" of the Black working class using revolutionary violence as a tactical option, if "necessary." In short, the "Black Power" period of the democratic struggle of Black people was coming into being.

So it can be easily seen from this that the period of militant struggle using nonviolent confrontation as a tactical option was simply a part of a social democratic struggle for Black working class people. "Integration", a formulation having its origin within a section of the petit-bourgeoisie, served as a popular slogan clouding the class nature of that struggle.

The "Black Power" period was still part of the struggle for democratic rights for Black people. It repudiated integration and nonviolence as the only tactical option that such a struggle could exercise. The "Black Power" phase of the democratic rights struggle was necessary and logically followed the "nonviolent integration" period because democratic rights had not been secured by the Black working class. Some victories were, however, registered, principally in public accommodations and, to a lesser extent, voting rights. But this anti-racist fight was meeting with resistance and this resistance had to be responded to with more intense struggle which took the form of mass activity, which had to go beyond "nonviolent integration," hence the "Black Power" period.[4]

It was not until after St. Augustine, Jacksonville in 1963, and Harlem in 1964, that the slogan "Black Power" by Stokely Carmichael and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee(SNCC) was raised in the rural south(where the greatest concentration of Black workers in America were located) and continued to be affirmed in the streets of Newark (1966), in those of Detroit, the most powerful single convulsion of that series in 1967. By 1968, all of the Black working class answered the assassination of M. L. King, one of the petit-bourgeois utopian socialist leaders of the struggle for democratic rights, with a unified Black revolt.

As a result of the conspicuous period of self-organized mass activity and as a part of it, all manner of Black independent organizational formations emerged; each espousing its own interpretation of Black Power according to its class orientation. Several of which called for socialism—among them perhaps the two most pivotal organizations of the period: the Black Panther Party(BPP) of Oakland, California,[5] and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers(LRBW) of Detroit, Michigan. The violent repression which was part of the generalized stiffened reaction, even to reform, during the period met both organizations head on. The League faired much better than the Panthers. The Panthers simply were unprepared both ideologically and structurally to deal with such severe repressive measures and consequently were decimated.

These two organizations and more particularly the LRBW were breaking ground for a still more highly developed Black movement which has come to be seen by many as the most advanced section of

a revolutionary struggle for socialism in America. As the basic program of the League emphatically outlines:

> Our short-range objective is to secure state power with the control of the means of production in the hands of the workers under the leadership of the most advanced section of the black working class vanguard.
>
> Our long-range objective is to create a society free of race, sex, class and national oppression, founded on the humanitarian principle of from each according to his needs.[6]

Here we have the beginnings of the contemporary period of the struggle for Black workers' power. More will be said about the contours and nature of this period of struggle within the United States of North America later.

Let us now attempt to establish some linkages between the Black Power Movement of the Caribbean and that within the northern American metropole.

II. The Struggle for Black Political Power in the Caribbean

The unevenly developing struggle for political power on the part of the Caribbean masses as it has unfolded within the last two decades has revealed many rich lessons as it has organically interacted with the struggle of Black and other oppressed working peoples within the U.S. As we are already aware, the struggles of the oppressed of the world are intimately bound together by a common system of exploitation, reinforced by a brutal system of oppression. Now, we want to shift our focus to the more intimate interconnections between the struggles of the oppressed in the Caribbean and oppressed Africans within North America.

Why did the Black Power movement take such quick root within the English speaking Caribbean, and within the Caribbean at large? There are many different sets and sub-sets of historical and contemporary factors to consider in this regard.

i. The Common Legacy of the Plantation System

The installation of the earliest form of socialized labor under the emerging capitalistic economic regime in the form of the mono-crop plantation and the mode of social and political organization that arose from it is indelibly inscribed upon the polity of the two regions. George Beckford has elaborated upon some aspects of the way in which the institutionalized plantation has impacted the general politics of the United States and the southern region more particularly. He argues that:

> ...The whole business of states' rights in the political organization of the United States emanated, in part, from the demands of the plantation South. What appears to be a well-developed system of local government for the federal territory as a whole reflects in part the system of strong central government in the plantation South, and this is directly linked to the plantation influence.[7]

Beckford goes on to imply that as long as the plantation is the basic mode of social organization, democratic rights for the laboring population would remain unattainable. Speaking of plantation societies in general he writes:

> So long as political power was monopolized by individual plantation owners the scope of popular participation was limited. This is an inevitable consequence of the fact that within plantation society, economic and social power is concentrated among a small planter class and that, outside of the master's house, social organization within the plantation community tends to be poorly developed.[8]

Undoubtedly, the struggle against the plantation system was a struggle for democracy and the degree to which the plantation system loses its sway within a given society directly corresponds to the degree to which the society has the potential for being open to democratic reforms.

Within the contemporary Anglo-phone Caribbean, an argument could be advanced and supported that in the societies where the plantation system was breaking down, there developed the most

advanced and far reaching democratic movements. Within these societies a large independent peasantry began to emerge signaling the decline of the plantation system as a dominant force within these economies. With the introduction of modern capital intensive industries in some substantial degree-as in the cases of the pure mineral economy of Trinidad-Tobago, the mixed economies with substantial bauxite and other mineral sectors, like Jamaica and Guyana; political movements which were similar to and contemporaneous with the civil rights/Black power movement of the U.S. South, complete with their own ascendant, opportunistic Black petit-bourgeois dramatically came into being.

A look at the history of the period reveals that the course and transition of the democratic struggle into its Black Power phase, again, occurred during the same time period and reached its highest point within economies which had the most well developed proletarian populations, i.e. Trinidad, Jamaica, Guyana, Cuba, in the Caribbean and urban areas of the U.S. north and south.

In the extraordinary case of Cuba, owing to a number of historical factors-the most significant of which were: 1)The existence of a large independent peasant sector co-existing with a large rural proletarian population at the level of the economy; and 2) a brutal puppet dictatorship with its counter-revolutionary lash driving the people to desperately seek relief at the political level. Their massive and intense struggle for internal democracy was changed into a struggle for socialismwhich was consolidated.

Another aspect of the legacy of the slave plantation system, that resulted in the locking of Black people into the most backward and undemocratic sector of American society for the first 180 years of the existence of the American nation-state and over 300 years of European colonial rule within the U.S. and the Caribbean respectively, is the racial dimension of this form of exploitation. Of the main ingredient of the New World Plantation system, George Beckford is instructive when he writes that:

> The predominant social characteristic of all plantation areas of the world is the existence of a class-caste system based on differences in the racial origins of plantation workers on the one hand and owners on the other. This is an inherent

> feature of the plantation system. In every instance, the system was introduced by white Europeans who had to rely on non-white labor for working the plantations. Race, therefore, was a convenient means of controlling the labor supply.[9]

Since the plantation represented the institutionalized imprisonment of labor, it arose from the need of capitalism in its pre-industrial infancy to transport and implant captive labor—which was the form that capital assumed during its initial period of accumulation in the periphery in order to maintain this labor in captivity so that it could be effectively exploited.

ii. Black Power and Race in the Contemporary Caribbean

Racism or European chauvinism has, thus, become an indispensable part of the superstructure of those societies having their historical origin and economic bases within the capitalist plantation system. The contemporary struggle for greater democracy and ultimately for socialism as the next step within the continuing process of mankind's social development is as much a struggle against the phenomenological or superstructural manifestation of classical racism as anything else.

Here, it is interesting to take note of the deceptive variation of this same European chauvinism as it has affected the East Indian sector of the rural working class populations of Trinidad and Guyana, in particular. The African sector of the petit-bourgeoisie at the helm of these mini-states, (states which act against overall Caribbean unity) attempts to use *African* chauvinism in order to mobilize the African section of the working class population in their behalf at election time. Racial chauvinism, Black or white, is tied to the privileges that capital seeks and is, therefore, opposed to Black working people. The Peoples National Congress (PNC) under Forbes Burnham's leadership has offered many examples of this in recent years.

The East Indian population came relatively late as a supplier of labor in the plantation agricultural sector of the Caribbean economy. The rural plantation had existed for centuries based upon African slave labor prior to the coming of the Asian indentured laborer beginning in 1838. East Asians came *not* as exploiter but to be exploited. Most of this indentured Asian labor came from Calcutta and Madras and by

1917, when this contract labor arrangement was finally ended, more that a half million of these workers had arrived in the Caribbean.

Table I[10] shows the magnitude of the relatively large East Indian populations of present day Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, Guadeloupe, and other Caribbean islands states.

Table I

Numbers of Indian Immigrants to the Caribbean by Country during the indentured period, 1838-1917

Guyana	238,000
Trinidad	145,000
Guadeloupe	39,000
Surinam	34,000
Jamaica	21,000
Grenada	2,570
St. Vincent	1,820
St. Lucia	1,500

Of the history of the antagonism between the African and Asian sections of the Caribbean working class, the Trinidadian activist, intellectual, Wally Look Lai has this to say:

> The circumstances in which they(Asians) were brought into the Caribbean ensured that from the very beginning therewould be tensions set up between the two communities, for they came in as replacements for African labour, as cheap labour designed to undermine the struggle of the African workers against the plantation system, a struggle which had moved on to a higher stage with the abolition of slavery and the introduction of free labour.[11]

He goes on to make the point about the manner in which the African section of the Caribbean petit-bourgeoisie, as part of their contemporary reactionary designs, manipulates the old colonial superstructure in neo-colonial form to exacerbate intra-working class differences. He put it in this way:

> It was a conflict (between the Asian and African working class sections) which the colonisers systematically encouraged throughout the entire period of colonialism, and which their counterparts today—the neo-colonial African political leaders in power—continue to ferment in their own interests. For throughout the history of the modern Caribbean, the prospect of a union of African and Indian workers at the base of the economy has been one which the authorities have tried systematically to prevent and undermine.[12]

It is essential to understand that "Black Power" as it emerged within the Caribbean context was not intended to be, and in fact was *not*, a formulation that was designed or used to exclude the Asian working population. The slogan, though crude and vague, from a tactical point of view, served to mobilize many different layers of Trinidadian society during the early months of the 1970 insurrection; principal among them was the urban unemployed. The rural Asian section of the working class was also drawn into the motion of the upheaval on the side of the insurgents and in so doing objectively defined themselves as "Black". While, on the other hand, the supporters of the Eric Williams' regime though they might be genetically "Black" or "Brown" objectively defined themselves by the repressive reactionary measures that they were forced by circumstance to use in order to maintain petit-bourgeois state hegemony, as "white men". This remains a category by which they were, and are now referred to by progressives.

In the case of Jamaica which has a very small Indian population, the Peoples National Party (PNP) seized upon "Black Power" and has used it so that independent proletarian struggle against them would be clouded by their brand of populism.

Populism, in general, while having some social democratic content, has the overall long term effect of blurring class distinctions. If Jamaica had a more significant rural East Indian proletarian population, the cultural trappings of populist "Black Power" and the narrowest definition of ideological formulations that might flow from the general concept would doubtless be used to encourage division between the African and the hypothetical Indian sections of the Jamaican proletariat.

Jamaica has been cited because "Black Power" populism exists there as part of the petit bourgeois hegemonic strategy. But in order to get a fuller appreciation of the more involved dynamics of this process it is necessary to observe their action within the Guyanese situation. Guyana is most instructive in this regard.

Burnham's PNC government tried to kill two strategic birds with a single "Black Power populist" stone. They are 1) using "Black Power populism" to gloss over the class struggle between the African section of the Guyanese working class and the African petit-bourgeoisie at the helm of the local imperialist sponsored state- a contradictory struggle which is irreconcilable under the present mode of production. And, 2) they are attempting also to further alienate the Indian working class population from its African counterpart, weakening the thrust of a united proletarian struggle aimed at crushing petit bourgeois state hegemony.

Historically, this or that section of an given petit-bourgeoisie has attempted to rally to its side its own religious, ethnic, cultural, or racial base of support as coup after coup takes place as part of the intra-class fights that go on within the unstable polity of the capitalist periphery in these times. But when faced with a united proletarian struggle of workers and peasants that cut across ethnic, cultural, and racial lines; similar ethnic, cultural, and racial differences, if they ever existed at all within the petit-bourgeoisie, quickly disappear. This is a general principle that affirms the naked class struggle as the primary motive force of history. We shall return to discuss this general consolidation of the petit-bourgeoisie in the face of growing proletarian unity later in this chapter.

It is clear that "Black Power" as it came from the lower strata of Caribbean society meant something quite different from the "Black Power" populism that had its origin within petit-bourgeois ruling circles. The "Black Power" of the workers and peasants carried to its logical conclusion means national liberation and socialist construction having as its purpose the destruction of international capitalist relations of production within the periphery of the international capitalist system.

III. Black Power and Race in the Contemporary Polity of Metro-North America and the Caribbean Comparatively Considered

We have begun an examination of the phenomena of "race", as it is operative within the superstructure of the state formations and in societies outside of the metropoles. Now let us turn our attention to a consideration of "Black Power" and its implications for North America.

We have seen that it emerged at a certain point within the struggle for democratic rights on the part of Black people during the decade of the 1960's. It has its origin in the working class stratum of Black society. In fact, in a very real sense, it represents the independent Black working class affirming and defining for itself the course and direction of the democratic rights or civil rights struggle—a struggle which the Black petit-bourgeoisie was attempting to take straight into the arms of the capitalists.

So within the context of North America, we have a similar set of dynamics in motion complete with its opportunistic petit-bourgeoisie as well. The similarity is so great that some have conceptualized the situation of Black people in America as an internal "colony". While it is understandable that the colonial analogy would have a great deal of appeal to Black metropolitan radical intellectuals, it has to be remembered that the use of the analogy is the most rudimentary form of reasoning. It goes beyond the scope of this particular effort to deal with an analysis of the Black "national question" within the context of North America. A few definitive words need to be said, however, concerning this matter.

In general, the lot of Black people has been one of a surplus producing population. Either as chattel slaves, or as sharecroppers, as rural agrarian proletarians, or as modern urban proletarians. It is an incontestable truth that "Black Power" as a slogan had its greatest appeal as well as its origin within this layer of the population. It is also accurate to say that other sections of the American metro population began to move forward under the banner of "Black Power". Urban Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and American Indians-in the less urban areas- began to raise demands of their own in the wake of the "Black Power" movement. Even some sections of the white population, reluctant and confused though they are, were also set into motion . Notable among these were students, women and some poor whites.

So, in fact, the "Black Power" movement initiated a generalized democratic upsurge that had far reaching implications.

We therefore are able to see that, like in the case of Trinidad, "Black Power" had the capacity to bring into motion many strata of the oppressed. But there are some very profound and far reaching differences within the two cases.

Further comparison of these two distinctive cases reveal that the East Indian in the rural agricultural sector of the economy and the African in the urban industrial sector of the economy of Trinidad had a very short history of coexistence. If it were compared to the very long history of the brutal exploitation of African labor counter posed to the exploitation of the white laborer in all of their various forms in the long history of their coexistence within the U.S. of Northern America, there emerges quite a different picture. Not only has the disparity been greater and the association been longer but the psychological and material crumbs have been larger with the emergence of metropolitan U.S. society with its imperialist table of plenty.

Concerning the historical relationship between the white and Black worker, James Boggs has this to say:

> To white workers at the very bottom of white society, African slavery also brought substantial benefits. First, the expanding industry made possible by the profits of slave trafficking created jobs at an expanding rate. Second, in the Americas particularly, white indentured servants were able to escape from the ehumanization of plantation servitude only becauseof the seemingly inexhaustible supply of constantly imported African slaves to take their place.[13]

It would appear from this that the process whereby African labor was injected into the American plantation system to replace white indentured servant labor was similar with that whereby East Indian indentured labor was injected into the Caribbean plantation system to replace African labor. This occurred in areas where, after manumission, Africans settled on small plots of land upon which they engaged in subsistence agricultural production as a primary means of support.

It is doubtful that protracted exploitation of white indentured labor played a central role in the development of the new world plantation

system during its formative stages. And of course, it was the plantation system that defined the earliest form of the basic relations of production within the capitalist mode. It was this same plantation system whose relations of production defined the central nucleus of the basic relations of the early capitalist epic. Therefore, the role of African slaves as "replacements" for white labor is, at best, dubious. Nevertheless, if we accept this as a valid component of Bogg's argument, closer examination of this comparison is warranted; since things are *never* as they appear to be.

Two critical interrelated aspects of the relationship between African and East Indian labor in the Caribbean and European and African labor in North America emerge. In the first place, a serious evaluation of the *historical period* within developing capitalism is a vital consideration; and in the second place, the geo-economic context within which the relationship between the two laboring groups under consideration is being fashioned has also to be dealt with in some detail. If this is not done, we will not begin to approach any conceptual clarity regarding this matter. In this direction, Boggs can take us further still:

The historical fact is that without African slavery the class struggle between capitalist and workers could not even have been joined in the first place. For the capitalist, it served the functions of primitive accumulation. That is, it provided both the initial capital *and* the labor force feed from the means of production which is a prerequisite for the process of capitalist accumulation inside the factory.....Thus, early in the history of this country a pattern was created which persists to this day: physical and social mobility for white workers into and within increasingly modernized industries, possible only because there is a reserve army of Black labor to scavenge the dirty, unskilled jobs in the fields and sweat-shops.[14]

The contrast between the position of African and Indian labor in the peripheral Trinidadian and Guyanese economies, on the one hand, and the position of European and African labor within the American metropole, on the other, emerges quite clearly as Boggs informs us:

> Instead of the vertical color line dreamed up by white radicals,there has existed a horizontal platform resting on the backs ofblacks and holding them down, while on top white workers havebeen free to move up the social and economic ladder of advancing capitalism. This horizontal platform, a ceiling for blacks and a floor for whites, has created and maintained a black labor force serving the economic needs of advancing capitalism, as it has developed, stage by stage, from manufacturing capitalism to industrial capitalism to its present stage of military-industrial capitalism, or what is more popularly known as the 'military-industrial complex'.[15]

Though it is doubtful that the present stage of "military-industrial capitalism" is the most descriptive and/or scientifically accurate category that might be used, what he is saying here has much utility. It would appear that the conceptualization of the *vertical* color line is more descriptively applicable in the cases of the Trinidadian and Guyanese working classes with their equally wreathed Indian and African sections of the proletariat. In general, vertical color, tribal, ethnic, and regional lines often obscure the class struggle within both the capitalistic periphery and epi-centers. This mis-conception is more likely to occur, however, when an analysis of a peripheral situation is being undertaken. This happens partly because historically derived real material (hence horizontal) privilege is more likely to be rooted within the development of the metropole itself. And in much the same way, metropolitan privilege, taken as a whole, is rooted in the underdevelopment of the periphery.[16]

At the risk of over simplification, the ruling classes in the centers have more material privileges and rights to distribute so they are parceled out unevenly within these societies. Of course, the pattern by which they were and are being distributed are directly related to whether or not the white ruling class has the capacity or the inclination to do so.

For a very long time in the history of the American nation state, the Black section of the working class was trapped in the most backward section of the agrarian southern economy and was specifically denied bourgeois democratic rights, i.e. the right to vote as well as many other rights. Of course, these same rights had been historically

enjoyed by the white working class for a very long time dating back to Jacksonian democracy.

In the Anglo-phone Caribbean "Universal adult suffrage without any property or language limitations" came into being in 1946; although the elections held that year did not allow the elected representatives any measure of real control since they sat on legislative bodies which, in most cases, had at least the other half appointed by a Governor who himself was appointed and maintained his traditional veto powers.[17] Additionally, the Executive Councils which were supposed to be executive bodies, contained elected members nominated by the Governors as well as top level Civil Service officials and was designed to insure classical colonial rule under universal adult suffrage.

Be that as it may. The purpose for mentioning it is that the universal adult suffrage that came to the Anglo-phone Caribbean in 1946 came to all strata of the laboring population. For example, in Trinidad of the nine elected seats in the 18 member newly elected legislature, four were filled by East Indians.[18] In other words, in the realm of token bourgeois democratic rights, such as they were, they were not systematically withheld from one section of the working class and granted to another. But this was exactly what happened in the case of the United States of North America.

The complicity of the white section of the American laboring population in this process, as they sought to gain and maintain their privileges in the period in which its ascendant bourgeoisie was embarking upon a course of imperialist expansion, is clearly outlined by Boggs:

> ...after Reconstruction...blacks were kept on the cotton plantations not only by the brute force of Southern planters and sheriffs but by the violent hostility of white workers to their entry into the advancing industries of the North and South. Between 1880 and 1890 alone there were fifty strikes in the North against the employment of black workers in industry. The result was that in 1910 the number of blacks in industries other than cotton production was less than 0.5 percent, while as late as 1930, 68.75 percent of gainfully employed blacks were in agriculture anddomestic service.[19]

Reinforcing Bogg's critical point here, it is interesting to note that the industrial codes of the National Recovery Administration of 1933 and the Fair Labor Standards Acts of 1938 excluded both agricultural and domestic labor from its protections. Hence, the vast majority of the Black section of the American proletariat was systematically maintained within the most backward sector and systematically prohibited from employment in the more advanced sectors of a rapidly developing metropolitan economy.

Even within the contemporary period the contours of this overall pattern are still with us. Boggs once again is extremely instructive as he vividly describes racism at the point of production:

> As blacks began to move into the cities in this country, white workers acted as the principal human agent assisting American capitalism to counteract the fundamental contradiction between constantly advancing technology and the need to maintain the value of existing plants. They have done so by collectively and often forcibly restricting blacks to what is known as 'common labor' inside the modern plant or in construction. A perfect example of the system in operation on the job has been in the building industry. 'The black man digs a ditch. Then the white man steps in and lays the pipes and the black man covers the ditch. The black man cleans the tank and then the white boiler maker comes on and makes the repairs.[20]

He goes on to bring in other oppressed minorities within the horizontally divided American working class as they are made to play a "scavenger role," as the white section of the proletariat continues to try to protect its privileged position.

> This is the scavenger role in production which white workers, acting *consciously* on behalf of their own social mobility and *unconsciously* on behalf of constantly advancing capitalism, have assigned to blacks and other colored peoples, such as the Chinese and Japanese on the West Coast, and the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.[21]

The slogan "Black Power" as it has been raised in the contemporary context of both metropolitan North America and the peripheral Caribbean was not, as it came from the lowest stratum of the two

societies, designed to be used to express the racial, national, or ethnic chauvinism that has historically reinforced reactionaries operating within both contexts. More clearly, racial, national, or ethnic chauvinism has been applied in different historical periods and within different geo-economic situations through the state. The examples of the relationship between the European and African sections of the laboring class in the North American context[22] and that of the African and Indian sections of its counterpart in the Caribbean have demonstrated how the dynamics of race reveal themselves distinctively within the capitalist epi-centers, on the one hand, and within the periphery, on the other.

From the foregoing analysis it is safe to conclude that there now exists an objective basis for unified struggle of the African and Indian working populations, particularly in Trinidad and Guyana, against their common oppressor the imperial presence in their midst in the form of the two neo-colonial governments which are presently headed by Africans. This condition does not yet exist within the epi-centers since white labor remains privileged. It is privileged, not only compared to labor in peripheral societies, but to Black labor in the metropolis itself. "Black labor" as a category includes all non-European laboring minorities and also immigrant populations from the present day capitalist periphery.

It has been asserted that imperialist exploitation is the basis for the continued privileged position that European labor holds in the world generally. It can plainly be seen that the radicalization of the European working classes within the metropoles is directly related to the erosion of both its economic and political privileges brought about by revolutionary successes within the periphery. Further, this erosion is a prerequisite to unified revolutionary proletarian struggle within the capitalist epi-centers.

This brings us to the process of polarization that is presently taking place all over the world today. Contemporary Caribbean society is today breaking up into thoroughly polarized warring camps. Let us now begin to examine this process.

IV. The Contemporary Face of Caribbean Reaction

Clearly the face of reaction which will turn into open counter-revolution in the period of open antagonistic class warfare is manifested within the Caribbean in the form of the class dictatorship of the indigenous petit-bourgeoisie. This class has state hegemony and actively seeks to maintain the capitalist mode of social organization within the region. Having advanced this proposition, this section of the presentation will proceed by: 1) Putting forth a brief analysis of the economic and historic origin of this ascendant reformist petit-bourgeoisie; 2) taking a look at the ideological views that the class holds as well as the reactionary consequences of those views; 3) evaluating the recent history of the state policies of this class formation; and finally, (4) by attempting to come to some conclusions regarding the national and international basis and implications of these policies.

Within the Anglo-phone, the petit-bourgeoisie appears to be divided into two competing sectors. On the one hand, there is the "old guard" petit-bourgeoisie made up of Syrian, Chinese, Indian, and even Jewish and mulatto merchants. This sector could be considered to fit the classical "brown or clear" skinned definition of the petit-bourgeoisie. They are directly engaged in small scale production and exchange. They extract surplus value through the exploitation of labor, the realization of rents, and have local commercial hegemony. They have traditionally acted as middle men in the trade which was not directly carried out by the colonial administrative apparatus. With the rise of the Multi-National Corporation(MNC) which came into its own during the period immediately after the Second Imperialist World War, there occurred an increased separation between the economic or commercial functioning of the old colonial apparatus and its pure political functioning. That is, its function as an instrument of coercion. This resulted in the MNC taking over its purely economic exploitative function and marked the ascendancy of a new sector of the Caribbean petit-bourgeoisie which began the task of reforming the old colonial state apparatus in such a way as to make it the instrument of its own political sway. Hence, we have a new "state" petit-bourgeoisie. This new class, by virtue of its political and intellectual weight, even though it was spawned from upper level trade union bureaucracy, began to

accumulate wealth. This accumulation was possible, even though they did not have any real base within the production and/or distribution process initially, precisely because they were, wheeling a miniature state through which the wealth came.

They accumulate this wealth in two very specific ways. In the first place, they reserved for themselves and provided, through a corrupt system of patronage, a monopoly of lucrative salaried bureaucratic positions within the government; and in the second place- this follows directly from the first instance- by directly managing and over-seeing the MNC's exploitative activity within the local economy. Since the new government was now generating its highest source of revenue through the operations of the MNC within the country, the local ascendant now African petit-bourgeoisie developed the capacity to both expand governmental revenue and to benefit from the high paying management positions within the MNC that are filled by representative from their class. What also began to happen, to a limited extent, is that though the large salaries from, and the political control exercised through these MNC positions and these government posts, the petit-bourgeoisie can and does accumulate enough capital to invest in local manufacturing and financial enterprises in a modest yet significant way.

Needless to say, economically, this general process insures the continued underdevelopment of the peripheral country in question and operates to maintain a backward mode of production and therefore acts as a fetter upon the progress of the exploited workers and peasants of the region.

At this point, perhaps a few words need to be said-by way of reiteration-about the ideological views and the politico-cultural significance of the views of the ascendant African petit-bourgeoisie. Here, A.W. Singham is helpful in reestablishing what has been asserted earlier. He says:

> ...Populism and nationalism, then, are the twin ideologicalforces that are utilized by the petty-bourgeoisie when they seek to control the apparatus of the state. By controlling the apparatus of the state, they can then negate the class antagonisms, and especially the demands of the proletariat and the peasantry to participate in the system

> primarily because they argue that their populist-nationalist state represents all the interest of *all* the people.[23]

While the specific character of the populist-nationalism might vary—from the "Democratic Socialism" of Michael Manley's ruling PNP in Jamaica or the "Cooperative Socialism" of Forbes Burnham's PNC of Guyana to the decadent nationalism of Eric Williams' PNM in Trinidad-Tobago—its class origin, basis, and content remain the same.

The course of the degeneration of the PNM and the Williams regime from its beginnings in a popular movement has been outlined by many Caribbean intellectuals.[24] But more important than its de facto degeneration is the inevitability of its degeneration owing to its class basis.

Within the Anglo-phone Caribbean the typical pattern of the degeneration of petit-bourgeois nationalism within the peripheral context has gone further and faster in Trinidad than any of the other English-speaking island states. Lloyd Best has enumerated some of the contemporary manifestations of this process and tied it to a more generalized polarization taking place within the Caribbean at large. He puts it in the following manner:

> Commission of Enquiry into Subversive Activities; the imposition of restrictions on C.L.R. James; the Industrial Stabilization Act; the banning of literature; the banning of people including Stokely Carmichael.
>
> One sees the regime developing along the typical Caribbean road of Caudillisme; Baptista, Machado, Gome, Marco Perez Jimenez— the whole lot of them—terrorizing the Caribbean people into submission.[25]

The Williams regime was so far gone and had achieved such a degree of rigidity that it was unable to co-opt even the radical elements from within its own class after the last popular upheaval in 1970.

In other areas of the Anglo-phone Caribbean the petit-bourgeoisie had some flexibility within the regimes which allowed it to hide its populist nationalism. For example, in Jamaica and Guyana, populous nationalism was spread around thick and heavy in the form of ultra

sectarian "Black Power' and even "Socialism" without class struggle and proletarian power. This, of course, could be done by a new section of the petit-bourgeoisie, a section which had not yet been discredited. They are, of course, being discredited as the bankruptcy of their class rule reveals its naked brutality daily.

As this process of the sharpening of the polarity of Caribbean society along class lines continues there are signs that the petit-bourgeoisie is itself consolidating. This consolidation is taking place on two levels. In the first instance, it is consolidating nationally, that is internally; and in the second instance, it is consolidating internationally, that is, it is seeking class allies from other tricontinental[26] petit-bourgeoisies, as well.

In the face of an emerging unified class struggle on the part of both the East Indian and African workers and peasants, the African petit-bourgeoisie in Trinidad is systematically absorbing the East Indian petit-bourgeoisie into its ruling PNM. The only element that remains to be absorbed is a certain sector of the trade union bureaucracy. It will be interesting to see how this process objectively unfolds.

In the case of Guyana we are witnessing the consolidation of the African and Indian petit-bourgeoisie under the banner of the PNC. Dr. Cheddi Jagan, leader of the P.P.P. (The Peoples Progressive Party) announced recently during the 25th anniversary conference of his party that they would from now on be supportive of the Burnham regime.[27]

Internationally, we are now seeing the Afro-Caribbean ruling petit-bourgeoisie seeking to win support from the reactionary continental African petit-bourgeois governments as well as the right wing within certain liberation movements within southern Africa. They are also openly campaigning for and getting the support of their class in the metropolitan African American petit-bourgeoisie.

In the specific situation of the new reactionary government of Grenada where the big British metro-bourgeoisie fearing political instability and upheaval and therefore wishing not to commit itself singularly on a long term basis to any particular regime which it regards as shaky, the Gairy government has called upon other Caribbean as well as continental African governments to raise funds in order that his civil servants might be paid.[28]

Within the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Sixth Pan-African Congress the dominant theme of governmental cooperation throughout the African world means in this present period petit-bourgeois collaborationism. Consistent with this emerging pattern is the calling of all manner of conferences by "producer nations," oftentimes with the full participation of the imperialist governments, and all manner of state visitation, over and above the usual diplomatic relations maintained by these various governments with each other.

In establishing linkages between national or internal considerations and international ones, an understanding of the political consequences of the deepening economic crisis within the international capitalist system is indispensable. Perhaps the most dramatic manifestation of this crisis is the tightening of immigration restrictions by metro governments as the ranks of the unemployed swell internationally. All over the tricontinental world local elites—faced with the chaos that results from maintaining decadent and crisis ridden capitalist production relations and the necessity for defending their own conspicuous and irrational standard and style of living—are necessarily becoming more barbaric and repressive, at the helm of their various states. And since they operate in league with international capital in ripping off surpluses from the labor of the workers and peasants of this world, their armies as well as other sectors of their instruments of state coercion are trained in the latest methods of counter-insurgency, equipped with the most modern implements of death and destruction that morally bankrupt, inhuman western technology can offer, and paid the highest fees that their defense budgets can afford.

The defense budget for Burnham's "cooperative socialist" government has almost doubled from $8.7 million (G) in January of 1973 to $13.8 million (G) in January of 1974.[29] It has also been recently revealed that the PNC government signed in 1966 a secret agreement allowing the U.S. unconditional rights to use the Timehri Reserve as a contingency base up to the year of 1983 with an option to renew (Treaty No TIAS/7328).[30] Therefore, in a very real sense, the defense budgets of peripheral capitalist states are mere extensions of one metropolitan imperialist defense budget or another.

Hand in hand with this military build up all manner of repressive

measures are being instituted. From the "Gun court" laws of Jamaica, to the Dread Act in Dominica, to the industrial stabilization act, the recently passed Anti-Sabotage Bill and other "emergency measures" in Trinidad, to the Public Order Act and the Newspaper Act of Antigua, the heavy hand of repression is driving the peoples of the Anglophone Caribbean to extreme measures.

Just as the Black petit-bourgeois leaders of Haiti have had their "Ton-ton marcute," in Grenada they call the same type of paramilitary state paid thugs the "Green Beast." There are other names for them in other places but everywhere they are the hired guns of increasingly more bankrupt petit-bourgeois regimes.

It is confusing to some seeing these brutal repressive responses by these small states, on the other hand, as they advocate and even institute what appears to some to be "socialist policies," on the other. Upon closer examination these moves toward the nationalization of certain key foreign held industries reveal themselves as no more than attempts on the part of these governments to increase control by extending their powers through state expansion. This process is to be expected and is consistent, at the economic policy level, with increased repression at the political level.

Two inter-related points can now be made here concerning the matter of nationalization. In the first place, the progressiveness of nationalization is dependent upon which social class has the state apparatus in its hands. Nationalization can operate to further entrench the fascist sector of the bourgeoisie in declining capitalist center nations or to entrench a repressive petit-bourgeoisie within the capitalist periphery. Secondly, since by definition the state is the instrument of ruling class tyranny, no matter which class may rule within a given region during a given historical period, the progressiveness of pursuing the nationalization option can only be evaluated with direct regard to the role played by the social class in power relative to the other layers of the population. The Caribbean petit-bourgeoisie serves international capitalism; their state is the instrument of capitalist domination in the region; therefore, it is safe to conclude that while certain policies adapted by this class may appear to be opposed to the metropolitan white bourgeoisies, in the long run international capitalism is

strengthened greatly by them.

The foregoing represents the broad contours of Caribbean reaction which has and will more and more become the face of open counter-revolution as the continuing struggle of oppressed laboring people logically unfolds. There are many similarities between the Caribbean situation and those within other portions of the underdeveloped world. And of course, there are also some fundamental distinctions that need to be reckoned with, as well, so that our understanding of the process of social transformation will become richer.

V. The Contemporary Face of the Caribbean Revolution

The Caribbean is, perhaps, the only region of the new world that has experienced, in some form or another, both bourgeois and socialist revolutions. The revolutionary struggle of the African Slaves of Santo Domingo is not only an important milestone in the history of the working people of that region, but it was a critical social movement which marks the very first time in human history that working people, acting in opposition to the capitalist presence within their midst, violently seized political power for themselves and ruled a society for a protracted period of time.[31] It predated the Paris Commune by over seventy years.

Owing to the objective underdevelopment of the forces of production as well as other factors, genuine modern socialism was not possible within such a context; nevertheless, the significance of the Haitian revolution in human history has gone without recognition far too long. It was through the slaves that the then progressive ideological content of bourgeois revolution was brought to the Caribbean. If capitalist or bourgeois forms of social organization which have resulted in industrialization were possible, perhaps history would have been different; but the conditions for that form of development was lacking. Instead, Haiti lapsed into a subsistence peasant freehold production economy with virtually no outlet in an emerging world market for what was being produced.[32] The political isolation of the Haitian economy was the result of political decisions made within the metropoles which still needed slave labor within the periphery even as international capitalism was emerging in the world.

The progressive bourgeois Haitian revolutionary tradition was

established roughly during the same time as the Burbese slave revolution of 1792. This movement under the leadership of the African slave named Cuffy (Kofi), who is today(1976) a national hero in Guyana—the region where the slave insurrection took place- is another instance of the class nature of social movement within the periphery of the international capitalist system even in its infancy.[33] At the end of the nineteenth century the "Ten Years' War"—which marked the bourgeois revolution in Cuba with Jose Marti, the politician, and Antonio Maceo, the warrior—was a continuation of this tradition.

In the present period,(1976) the highest point which has been reached by the insurgent Caribbean worker-peasant movement is represented by the social organization of Cuban society. Since July of 1958 every corner of the archipelago has erupted at least once.
This section of the chapter will generally be concerned with the events of the last decade focusing specifically upon, again, the Anglo-phone Caribbean, regionally, and upon the events of the last three years, more recently. We merely wish to convey some understanding of the revolutionary currents in motion presently (1976) and to draw some conclusions regarding the historically significant events that are now transpiring. Additionally, we will seek to establish some of the inter-relationships that have historic implications between the metropolitan democratic movement in North America and the revolutionary socialist movement in the West Indies.

In an article appearing in the *Inner City Voice,* the official organ of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, in April of 1970 an analysis is advanced of the October 1968 banning of Walter Rodney from Jamaica and "the Sir George Williams University- IBM computer incident" in Montreal, Canada. The article and the analysis are important not only for what they were saying but also for where it appeared and who was saying it. The League(LRBW), as has already been acknowledged, represented a pivotal organizational formation in the contemporary Black movement in the U.S. from Black Power to Black Workers' Power. The article reads in part:

> Until this point in history, West Indians have had one traditional 'safety valve' to keep down revolutionary action mass emigration to the United States, Britain or Canada.

> With the rise of 20th century racism in the United States and England, those doors are now virtually closed to West Indians. With America now controlling 75% of the Canadian economy the racism surrounding the Sir George Williams University affair, West Indians have 'nowhere to run and nowhere to hide.' The Black masses of the Caribbean, African and Indians, must now build organizations to unite and fight neo-colonialism in the West Indies.[34]

Here we can see two important features emerging. First, the beginnings of a definitive class analysis can be seen in the identification of the African and Indian masses as the progressive forces within the Caribbean and in the designation of the neo-colonial governments as the embodiment of the forces of reaction. Secondly, we see an attempt to establish connections between events within the metropoles and within the capitalist hinterlands by pointing out metropolitan governmental repression of immigrants and the tightening of immigration policy.

But perhaps, most importantly, the analysis appeared in the organ of an all Black, metropolitan organization with a limited Black working class base which was putting together an analysis in which the class struggle was beginning to be used as a means to sharpen and further our understanding of racial exploitation and therefore oppression.

Essentially, a similar phenomenon was taking place within the Caribbean. Several organizational formations emerged as a result of mass activity on the part of workers, as in the case of the League. Contemporaneous with the League and the *Inner City Voice* in the U.S., there existed within the Caribbean several organizational formations which would prove vital to the transition from Black Power to Black Workers'Power within that region of the world.

i. The Independent Trade Union Advisory Council and Abeng

The Independent Trade Union Advisory Council or ITAC was formed as a federation of independent trade unions in Jamaica in October of 1968. Although *Abeng* was not its official organ, it existed as a relatively independent radical newspaper during the same period. Needless to say, between these two different formations there was

much cooperation and to a large extent they both represented the same kind of contemporary transitional formation as did the League.

ITAC should not be considered to be like the League in all respects. There were many differences between the two formations; but the differences were primarily at the level of what was said. For example, ITAC professed to be "non-political" according to its constitution; however, a little later in one of its publications its position was as follows:

> ..ITAC is fully aware that its attitude toward capitalism and towards the political parties and unions is itself a political attitude. Politics is when the people of a country work together for a common goal. This is surely what the members of the independent unions are doing and striving to do.[35]

While ITAC's statements seem to be a mixture of reformist populism and Marxism, it, nevertheless, was a federation of independent worker formations, as was the League. There is evidence to show that within ITAC as in the League there was a wing which was genuinely opposed to capitalism and one which was merely for reform of one sort or another.

The struggle of these two wings can be seen throughout the issued statements and official documents of the organization. In the constitution along with the assertion that the organization was "non-political" there appear several vague aims:

> The aims and the objects of ITAC shall be...to promote the interests of all its affiliated organizations...; to improve generally the economic and social conditions of the affiliate members.....To secure united action on all questions affecting their (the union's) interests...: and to help to promote suitable educational, social and cultural facilities...[36]

Along with this there were many more progressive propositions, such as:

> ....Today, workers in Jamaica must be aware of the militancy of unions like the Oil Workers Trade Union, again in Trinidad, and must join hands with them against a common enemy,

> the North American empire and their puppet governments in the Caribbean.[37]

This is clearly in opposition to U.S. imperialism; what is still unclear is whether or not it means the "puppet governments" in power presently(1976)—which are not even reformists, i.e. they refuse to nationalize certain foreign holdings—or petit-bourgeois populous or social democratic governments, i.e. the PNP in Jamaica and the PNC in Guyana. This has become a crucial consideration in light of the fact that the right wing of the ITAC went to support the PNP in the 1972 election when Manley campaigned under the populous slogan "Better must come". The right thus became supportive of the petit bourgeois government and the left within ITAC later re-emerged in another formation which is with us today, the Workers' Liberation League. ITAC still exists even today(1976) but has ceased to be a significant political entity.

Abeng, named after a horn used by the maroons to call the people together, remained an irregularly published radical weekly newspaper from February to September of 1969. The great majority of its articles were concerned with government sell-out to imperialist interests. Several articles dealt with government repression generally using instances of police brutality. Though the paper only existed for a brief period of eight months it might be counted among the significant formations in the transition from Black Power to Black Workers' Power in the Caribbean.

At this point, perhaps, a few words need to be said of a generalized cultural movement made up of the unemployed and alienated intellectuals of Jamaica, a movement in which the popular culture has been maintained in all of its dynamism and through which it has been transmitted. The Rastafari have unquestionably contributed much to the struggle for Black power and undoubtedly a wing of that movement will make a significant contribution to the struggle for socialism in the Caribbean. It is essentially a cultural movement. And a cultural movement without clear working class politics, is at best, unpredictable and can easily be used as it was, again, by Manley in 1972 under the petit-bourgeois class slogan "Better must come". It is indeed a testament to the working class impulses of a significant

section of the Rastafarian movement which continue to remain beyond the ideological clutches of the petit-bourgeoisie. Even now those who supported the PNP are prepared to dance the *Naiabinggi*[38] for Manley.

ii. The Oil Workers Trade Union, The Vanguards, The National Joint Action Committee, and The New Beginnings Movement

A great deal of what is now this generalized process of democratic upheaval that is sweeping the Caribbean has grown out of the historically militant trade union activity of Trinidad-Tobago. In the present period,(1976) the transitional organizational formations from Black Power to Black Workers' Power are numerous. Among them are: the Oil Workers Trade Union(OWTU) and its organ, *The Vanguards*; the National Joint Action Committee(NJAC), a student-unemployed Black Power formation that is credited with giving the primary leadership to the 1970 upheaval, and the New Beginnings Movement, a group of radical intellectuals and workers who left the NJAC after the upheaval.

Let us now consider each of these formations in their turn. The OWTU came from a period of conspicuous mass worker activity in the form of a series of strikes in the late 1930's and has remained, perhaps the most militant trade union within the Caribbean. But trade unions have their limitations. They can struggle mightily for reform and are primarily designed to pressure employers for a greater share of the fruits of their own labor, but the trade union is not, itself, a revolutionary or socialist formation. Its essence is social democratic and therefore reform.

George Weekes, President General of the OWTU, reveals the reform essence of trade union struggle when he says, in an attempt to resolve the dilemma of deteriorating "labor-management relations" under the whip of the Industrial Stabilization Act that:

> The answer to this dilemma lies in the new concept of joint efforts for joint gain. The clearest example of this is co-operative production, where the shares in an enterprise are wholly or largely owned by the workers themselves. In such a situation it is pos-sible for a Union to go all out for their members.[39]

To those who mistake the political essence of reform social democracy for socialism, this statement seems to have revolutionary content. After all, it is talking about a situation where workers "wholly or largely own" an enterprise; and that sounds like socialism. That is precisely it. It "sounds like" socialism, but it is not socialism.

Its bourgeois form and essence is more obliviously revealed when Weekes says:

> The principle can operate with joint stock companies in a effective way. If it can be demonstrated that the wage the worker is getting is a fair proportion of the profits after tax, then Union officials will have a much easier time in creating the right condi tion and encouraging work.....[40]

Just as with ITAC and OWTU the fundamental question of revolutionary political power as the independent working class can not be raised by a trade union organization. Here, again we are left with the social democratic and/or populous essence of a trade union movement. Activity which belongs to the social democratic populous upheaval within the Caribbean during the brief period of the late sixties and early seventies can accurately be placed within the context of the general "Black Power movement"; a movement which had international consequences.

The social democratic populism of George Weekes sounds more like an opposition leader than one who wants the social order overturned. Compare what Weekes has said with what Michael Manley is saying as his ruling party governs Jamaica:

> I could never be a Communist, I am a profoundly democratic person. I want to democratize this society, through every level of government. I want to make *workers partners with ownership and management.* The old boss-worker authoritarian relationship is undemocratic.....We pay owners a fair price and put the workers in cooperatives .....(emphasis added).[41]

Here we see two spokesmen for the same left Caribbean petit-bourgeoisie; one ruling in Jamaica, the other attempting to develop into a populous opposition in Trinidad if the rigid and repressive politics of the society will allow it.

Let us now turn to a consideration of another "Black Power" pivotal organization in Trinidad-Tobago. With the National Joint Action Committee(NJAC) we are more clearly able to see the political and structural shortcomings within a populous Black Power formation. It is perhaps the only organization that possessed the potential for the resolution of the fundamental political question of power. In a spontaneous mass revolt, NJAC emerged and for one moment only had the option of contesting power. There were many reasons that it proved ineffective when judged by this most basic historical criterion.

NJAC came together as a formation made up of many different self-organized forms in protest of the imprisonment of eleven Trinidadian students in Canada after the Sir George Williams incident. Ideologically, then, it was merely a Black Power social democratic reform formation riding a wave of popular unrest aimed at opening up Trinidadian society. Of its limitations, the Trinindadian activist Bukka Rennie has written:

> ...NJAC failed to theoretically provide a rational ideological framework to suit the situation, and to deal effectively wit the crucial question of Power. The NJAC leadership praised Nkrumah, Rodney, Mondlane, Lumumba, Cabral, and Fanon for their "blackness" but never for their socialist ideology and scientific approach to the struggle, so one can very well understand why, when in April 1970, Dual Power existed, in the country, NJAC could neither deal with the situation structurally, theoretically, nor physically. The unemployed saw the short comings and contradictions and split away in hundreds, frustrated and disappointed, but a million times wiser.[42]

The weakness of NJAC can, therefore, be categorized into three basic groupings. In the first place, it lacked sufficient ideological clarity to programmatically challenge the existing bastion of petit-bourgeois state power and to drive the re-organization of the society

forward. In the second place, it did not possess the structural flexibility, and therefore, could not comprehend or encourage the creative range of the self motion of the masses that was the central dynamic in this crisis of bourgeois political power. And, furthermore, in the third instance, there were certain historical limitations placed upon this upheaval since, for many reasons, it was not able to bring the independent working class into decisive revolutionary motion.

Today (1976) in Trinidad-Tobago there are many organizational formations, primarily within the student and unemployed populations; many of which have elements which were part of the NJAC formation. Perhaps the most well known grouping to split with NJAC is the New Beginning Movement (NBM). NBM is based primarily within a section of the young radical intelligensia and the unemployed. The point of view of this formation advocating socialism can be summed up by one of its ideologues. Wally Look Lai, part of the NBM leader cadre, advances the following:

If the perspective and programme of the imperialists and the local petty-bourgeoisie can be summarised as follows: *representative democracy* in the political system (British or otherwise), and *capitalism* in the economic system (foreign or local); if the ideology of the conventional revolutionary can be summarised as follows; *dictatorship of a vanguard* on behalf of the people, in the political system, and *State_control of the economy*, in the economic system: the perspectives and programs of the *New Beginning* can equally be summarised as follows; direct democracy based on workers; and farmers' assemblies, on the one hand, and *workers' self-management of the economy*, on the other. (emphasis in the original)[43]

Look Lai goes on to elaborate upon the specific relationship between political and economic activity within the new social order according to the perspective of the NBM:

> ...Far more important than the elaboration of any economic programme on behalf of the people is the insistence on our part that, in any act of formulating a programme, the masses of the people, self-organised in their own assemblies, must be involved in the process at every level. In this way, economies becomes not a thing in itself, as the conventional view of Revolution would have it, but as always subordinate

> to, and inseparable from, the political question: who controls? who decides? How do we, the masses of the people, fit into this process?[44]

Within recent years, like the NBM, a new and fresh vintage of organizational formations have emerged throughout the Caribbean. They are different and represent a new and higher stage in the struggle for the transformation of that region. These formations are not so important for what they say that they are, for the validity of any statement that they might make must await the judgement of history. But they are important because they are genuinely impacting Caribbean society. From all indications they are, to a greater or lesser extent; beginning to root themselves as participants in the process of socialist revolution and, in many cases, are providing the organizational leadership for the transformation of these societies. While the latter might be argued, the former is conceded.

iii. The Working People's Alliance and the Workers' Liberation League

Among these new formations is the Working People's Alliance(WPA) formed in Guyana on November 26, 1974.[45] The WPA came together as a working front-type formation made up of several smaller groupings which came out of the democratic upheaval of the last decade. The groups that came together were the Workings People's Vanguard Party, the Indian Political Revolutionary Associates, Ratoon and ASCRIA.

The organization clearly advocates economic control of the process by workers as a class across racial and ethnic lines. One of its first policy statements reads as follows:

> The Working People's Alliance will fight for an economy which will be controlled by the working people for their own benefit, in which every citizen has the right to work and in which exploitation and exploitating classes are abolished. The Alliance stands for the genuine multiracial power of the working people, expressed in organisational forms which guarantee the nature of this power.[46]

Following the emergence of the WPA in Guyana, less than a month later (December 18,1974) the Workers' Liberation League, a more orthodox Marxist formation, came into being in Jamaica. This organization sees as its main objective the creation of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. In its first communiqué, its leadership stated:

> The Workers' Liberation League is a working class organisation which has as its main aim the creation of the party of the working class. For years the working people of Jamaica have had political parties dominated and led by the ruling class.
> ...Our aim is to enroll only the most steadfast, loyal, hardworking, and conscious servants of the interests of the working class.[47]

Organizations belonging to this same contemporary period have been created in other regions. In Antigua there is the Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement; in Dominica, "the Dreads," a more generalized cultural movement which is being brutally repressed; and in Grenada there is the New Jewel Movement. While they all are formations thrown up by the contemporary Caribbean social movement, they also represent the uneven development and diversity of that movement as it ebbs and flows.

There will, of course, be much debate on questions created and resolved as the struggle intensifies. In the final analysis, the effectiveness of these and other more highly developed formations yet to come into existence will be judged as they lay as fragments in the wake of the forward dynamism of the working class as it gains momentum, destroying and creating simultaneously as it goes.

Summary

What we have tried to do here is to comparatively analyze the recent democratic upheaval within the U.S. and the contemporary Anglo-phone Caribbean. We have drawn upon their common history of capitalist plantation production with its large socialized African labor forces in setting the stage for the social movement of the '60's and early '70's.

The civil rights movement and the Black power movement in the U.S. were characterized as two different phases within the same social democratic movement within the U.S. Linkages were established between it and its counter-part in the Caribbean context.
As both of these struggles, which are part of the same process, have been developing into conscious working class struggles, their socialist content is unmistakable as new organizational forms continue to appear with socialist transformation of their respective societies as their stated objective. They will come and they will go as these movements mature.

Notes

1. Allen, Robert L., *Black Awakening in Capitalist America,* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1969), p. 1.
2. Breitman, George, (ed), *Malcolm X Speaks,* (New York, Groves Press, Inc., 1965), p. 49.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Even the Nation of Islam was part of this process. Theirs' was an organization formation that led the struggle for the democratic right of Black people to worship the God of their choice or freedom of religion. They were seeking all of the amenities and protections that any other form of organized religion was enjoying. The religion that carried this struggle through had, of necessity, to be a religion of non-European origin. This was so because most of the organized forms of the christian religion were sanc tioned, even for Blacks. Other religions for whites were state sanctioned. But other religions, that is non-Christian religionsforms, were not sanctioned by the American state for Blacks. The Nation of Islam represented, therefore, a struggle on the part of Black people for boarder religious freedoms. There were numberous documented violent clashes that occurred between the para-military muslin defense force, "the Fruit of Islam," and local police departments in various cities when they attempted to exercise religious freedoms. There were also various documented conflicts that the Nation had with the U.S. legal system also. These conflicts centered upon two distinctive points of contention: 1) conscious objector status for minister and other member to the draft, and 2) respect for the sanctity of the of their Temples as legitimate church sanctuaries which were not subject to searches by the police. These were the specific forms of the rights of religious assembly which were constitutionally granted to other forms of organized religions. Therefore, as long as these religious freedoms were being violated by the American state in

the case of the Nation Of Islam "the white man was the devil." When these rights were granted, respected, and protected, the white man was no longer "the devil."

5. The Black Panther Party seemed unable to put forth a clear class analysis. Their slogan, "Power to the People" has populist implications. Their fuzzy proposition of the lumpen-proletariat as the vanguard of the "socialist" revolution shows a lack of a serious and in-depth grasp of the development of American society and African working people within it. It is, more fruitful to examine the BPP as a democratic formation with its central thrust being the establishment of the right of Black people to bear arms and to defend themselves against unlawful and illegal police attack.

6. The Executive Board of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, *The League Program,* Detroit, 1970.

7. Beckford, George L., *Persistent Poverty*, (London, Oxford Univ. Press, Inc., 1972), p. 75.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. Gross, Malcolm, *The East Indians of Guyana and Trinidad,* Report No. 13, Minority Rights Group, London, 1972, p.4.

11. Look Lai, Wally, *The Present Stage of the Trinidad Revolution*, A New Beginning Pamphlet, Port of Spain, 1973.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Boggs, James, *Racism and the Class Struggle*, (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1970), p. 150.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

16. Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (London, Bogle L'Ouverture Publications, 1972).

17. Carrington, Edwin, "The Post-War Political Economy of Trinidad and Tobago", *New World Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1967.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Boggs, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

21. *Ibid.*

22. There are other ways in which to formulate this distinction between the white and third world working classes in this period in the U.S. Some have drawn this distinction by making an analysis of the American economy and coming to the conclusion that Blacks and other minorities work, for the most part, within the labor intensive sector of the economy

controlled by small capitalists as well as that sector of the economy directly under the control of the American state itself. On the other hand, those workers who labor in the capital intensive monopoly sector, where Black and other minority workers are under represented, are privileged. They enjoy a higher standard of living because of the fact that labor unions have been able to successfully struggle for a large share of the surplus, owing to the more efficient organization and a higher level of development of the productive forces in this sector. This view is elaborated in James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*, (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1973).

23. Singham, A. W., *The Emergence of Counter-Revolutionary Politics in the Caribbean,* Mimeo, Howard University, 1975.

24. Best, Lloyd, "From Chaguaramas to Slavery", *New World*, Winter, 1965.

25. Best, Lloyd, The 'February Revolution' in Trinidad and Tobago, 1970, *Readings in Government and Politics of the West Indies*, 1971 Edition, Mona, Jamaica, pp. 210-214.

26. The designation "tricontinental" was popularized by the Cuban government to refer to what others have call "the Third World".

27. New Beginning Movement, "Guyana," *Caribbean Dialogue*, vol. 1, no. 1, August 1975, p. 19.

28. Rodney, Walter, "Contemporary Political Trends in the English-speaking Caribbean," *The Black Scholar*, September, 1, 1975, p. 19.

29. New Beginning Movement, "Guyana News Briefs," *Caribbean Dialogue*, vol. 1, August 1975, p. 4.

30. *Ibid.*

31. James, C.L. R., *The Black Jacobins*, New York, 1963.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

33. King, Sidney, "Birth of a Nation," in *The New World*, Georgetown, Guyana, Spring, 1965.

34. The League of Revolutionary Black Workers, "The Struggle is World Wide", in *The Inner City Voice,* April 15, 1970, pp. 17-18.

35. *Independent Trade Unions*, I.T.A.C., Publications, no date, Kingston, Jamaica, p. 31.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.,* p. 23.

38. The *Naiabinggi* is a ritualistic dance of death in which the hated one is killed by magic.

39. Weeks, George, "The Impact of the Ethiopian Revolution on the Rastafari Movement," *Socialism-Theoretical Organ of the Workers' Liberation League*,

March 1975, Kingston, Jamaica, p. 31.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Carl Rowan, "Communism Scares 'Old Elite'," in *The Atlanta Constitution*, February 9, 1975, p. 4-A.

42. Rennie Bukka, *Revolution and Social Development*, New Beginning Pamphlet, Tunapuna, Trinidad,1975 .p. 34.

43. Look Lai, *op. cit*, p. 20.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Working People's Alliance, *News Release*, Georgetown, Guyana, mimeo, November, 1974, p. 1.

46. *Ibid.*

47. The Workers' Liberation League, *Communique*, Kingston, Jamaica, mimeo, December, 1974, p. 1. The Black Panther Party seemed unable to put forth a clear class analysis. Their slogan, "Power to the People" has populous implications. Their fuzzy proposition of the lumpen-proletariat as the vanguard of the "socialist" revolution showed a lack of a serious and indepth grasp of the development of American society and African working people within it. It is more fruitful to examine theBPP as a democratic formation with its central thrust being the establishment of the right of Black people to defend themselves against unlawful and illegal police attack. And finally, the ideological position presently taken by its former leadership serves to reinforce its social democratic character.

PART III

ACTIVIST SOCIAL PRACTICE: THREE RADICAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

CHAPTER 5

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers An Analysis of an Organizational Form

Objective analysis of Black revolutionary organizational formations, particularly those that came about as a consequence of the Black power movement, is now very much needed. It is the intention of this presentation to attempt an analysis of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers(LRBW) of Detroit as an organizational form. But it is first necessary, in order to adequately approach the question of what the LRBW was at the point when it existed in the history of the African people's mass movement in the United States, to make a few preliminary remarks concerning the objective basis of social movement in general.

Social movement springs from objective relationships of production within a given society. It is then driven forward by large groupings of people who are placed within that process of social production by history in opposition to other large groupings of people. These two large groupings of people become locked in a struggle. One group struggles to maintain and the other struggles to transform their relationship to each other so that the production process will itself become more efficient, as the society and mankind progresses. Karl Marx has described this most fundamental social dynamic as the class struggle.[1] Revolutionary theoreticians of the twentieth century have added to this formulation the concept of the national liberation struggle which is part of the generalized classed struggle in the present period of the inter-relationship of production on a worldwide scale. At a certain point in the sharpening of this opposition, human consciousness enters into this objective process and as a result conscious and deliberate organizational forms may emerge. Social movement is, therefore, in the final analysis, human beings consciously moving to transform their social reality.

The path of social movement is not something that can be reduced to a single simplistic formula; at the same time, it its not as complicated that it defies human attempts to understand it. It is, however, complex. As Robert Allen points out:

> The course of a social revolution is never direct, never a straight line proceeding smoothly from precipitating social oppression to the desired social liberation. The path of revolution is much more complex. It is marked by sudden starts and equally sudden reverses; tangential victories and peripheral defeats; upsets, detours, delays and occasional unobstructed headlong dashes...[2]

From the point of view of human consciousness at any given time, social movement or "social revolution," in Allen's words, may be very readily noticeable to a great many people because it might be in a period of rapid and conspicuous transformation and at other times it might be apparent to only a few people who have worked in and have engaged themselves in objective study of the revolutionary process because it may be in a period of apparent lull or of relative inactivity. The Vietnamese revolutionary theoreticians refer to these periods of varying mass activity as periods of "high" and "low " tides[3], respectively. And again, the dynamic character of the movement of large social groupings can be traced more or less directly to dynamics that have their origin in the economic base of a particular society.

A clear understanding of these things is important because we will not be able to do justice to a critical analysis of organizational forms and techniques unless we possess a thorough knowledge concerning the general character of how society is driven from one stage in its development to the next. In order to gain this clarity, serious consideration has to be given to such specific inter-related questions as: What period of its development is the social movement under study in with respect to itself? At what stage of polarity are the production relationships within the society? How is the uneven development within this polarity affecting emerging organizational forms? What are the particular forces at play? And finally, what potential do these forces have for organization and self-organization at any given time? These are some of the most central questions that

must be considered. But, in a larger sense, it should be kept in mind that these questions should be looked at with the fundamental understanding that organizational forms emerge and die with the ebb and flow of social movement itself.

Organizations emerge as a consequence of social movement and are themselves particular formations of and are contained within the social movement from which they spring. They live or die based upon whether or not their development coincide with the development of the social movement from which they draw their life's blood. No organizational formation is immune from the laws governing its existence. Nothing in nature is. Organizations are neither sacred or sacrosanct.[4] They are natural social phenomena not supernatural ones. The League of Revolutionary Black workers was no exception to this rule. Therefore, one of the most central questions regarding the League, like many other organizational formations is: did its form and content reflect accurately the period in time of the social movement which it was a part?

This chapter is designed to be an analysis of the LRBW of Detroit, its role in the Black Power movement of the mid and late 60's, its internal struggles, its successes, and its failures. The approach to the analysis will come from a serious examination of the LRBW as an organizational form that emerged from the concrete struggle of African workers in Detroit, and in America in general.

I. Historical Analysis of the African Toiler in America

This brief analysis of the history of the African toiler and his impact upon American society will be confined to the elaboration of a set of principles which may be *derived* from a close study of the history. You will have to study the history yourself.

C.L.R. James has formulated a series of general principles that can provide us with a basis for expansion and specification. In 1947 he said:

> ...the Black struggle, *the independent Black struggle*, (emphasis added) has a vitality of its own; that it has deep historic roots in the past of America and in the present struggles; it has an organic political perspective, along with it is traveling

> to one degree or another, and everything shows that at the present time it is traveling with great speed and vigor.[5]

James continues:

> ...That the *independent Black movement* (emphasis again added) is able to intervene with terrific force upon the general social and political life of the nation, despite the fact that it is waged under the banner of democratic rights and is not led necessarily either by the organized labor movement or the Marxist Party.[6]

James finishes his set of principles with:

> this is the most important, that it is able to exercise a powerful influence upon the revolutionary proletariat, that it has got a great contribution to make to the development of the proletariat in the United States, and that it is itself a constituent part of the struggle for socialism.[7]

It is very important to note that James outlines these principles in the absence of the many rich insights that were gained from a study of the civil rights movement/the Black Power movement and its impact within other layers of the population in this society.

Let us try, with the help of James, to come up with some principles that might serve to bring clarity to our own analysis. After studying the history, of our people in the context of America, or what James calls the "independent Black movement," it is plain that: 1) Africans in America have been the most advance social force at any point in this society where sweeping reformist change has been required owing to our objective position within it. 2) African people have been the decisive force in the consolidation of the new reform at every point. And finally, 3) it is precisely because of its independence that it has the capacity to affect other layers of the society to the degree that it does.

At this point, a general question arises. What is the general historical character of the African people's struggle that has put it in this position? The fact that African people have provided the basic ingredient of labor from the beginning of the development of this society until this moment in its development, defines the general character

of our movement. In short, our exploitation and consequently our oppression so that our exploitation could be maintained as chattel slaves and after the Civil War as sharecroppers and peons, and now in the most backward sector of modern industry as workers, has provided the basis for the wealth of America and Western Europe.[8] And in a very real sense, the position of the African in America has had to become the criterion for judgement of the social progress of America, primarily because it is through the advances in the African people's struggle here that American society painfully develops from one stage to the next.

i. The Revolutionary War for American Independence

The bourgeois revolution in America, the Revolution of 1776, was characterized by a sluggish, infant, weak and divided bourgeoisie, with a young mercantile wing centered in New England and a backward slave owning wing centered in the South, "leading" the revolution and a powerful popular movement of laboring classes, including slaves pushing hard for the fulfillment of bourgeois democratic demands. This movement was especially intense in the northeastern U.S. where mercantilists were forced to abolish slavery in the wake of this revolution.[9] Slaves and free Africans alike were uncompromising in their struggle against both the British state, with remnants of the old monarchy still very strong and desperately holding on within it; and against their primary enemy the slave owning wing of the ascendant American bourgeoisie, for a bourgeois democratic order and rights.

The concrete forms that this particular struggle of the African masses took were: 1) Legal petitions to the Congress and other representatives of the state for emancipation, 2) mass flight to the British or to anyone who would promise emancipation, 3) opposition to the capitalism plantations system on the plantations themselves in the day to day acts of resistance, and 4) in the heroic and numerous slave rebellions.[10] With the abolition of slavery the classical capitalism production relations which were already there in the north were free to develop to their fullest.

The adoption of legislation ending slavery by 1780 in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and other states later revealed the effects of the spread of northern merchant capitalism in the political sphere. It was the independent movement of the African slave section of the

embryonic American proletariat and freedmen (artisans and farmers) that was the most advanced force. The force that was the decisive one in the victory of the merchants in the north.[11] And, most importantly it was their independent thrust that allowed them to have this decisive impact.

ii. The American Civil War

Let us go on to the next stage in the reformation of American society, the Civil War of 1861-65[12] that brought about industrial and commercial capitalist penetration of the southern states and the historical events leading to it.

The Negro Convention Movement emerged in response to the founding of the American Colonization Society in 1816 which is the institutional embodiment of an attempt by the ruling agrarian wing of the ascendant American bourgeoisie to further entrench itself by the suppression of the slaves and free African movement against the authority of a state that they controlled. The Negro Convention Movement(NCM) was a logical continuation of the struggle of both free and enslaved African laborers which had its origin in the basic position of these groups in the production process itself.

Historically, the African slave had already been struggling against their slave masters in the period prior to the Revolution of 1776. Therefore, this latest attempt by the new rulers of America (especially the Planter wing) to send free Blacks back to Africa through the efforts of the American Colonialization Society,[13] was met with a new national organizational form. This new organization had its origins within the independent black institutions which developed from the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights during the period following the 1790s in the north. This new organization had become national in scope by 1831. It, like many other forms, came into being as a relatively spontaneous response to a crisis -the proposed Colonialization of free Blacks back to Africa. Thus, the National Negro Convention Movement(NCM) because of its independence had a radicalizing effect upon other layers of the society to the direct extent that it gave life to the American Anti-Slavery Society(AASS) with William L. Garrison as its acknowledged leader. The AASS became the concrete organizational form which was the institutional embodiment of the white Abolitionist

Movement which met in its first national convention in 1833. If it were not for the NCM, founded two years earlier, Garrison would have remained an obscure New England printer.

The American Anti-Slavery Society split over the same general questions that the Negro Convention Movement had split over some years before in 1839. But the real driving force behind these events was the action of the producing captive laboring population (the organization of the Underground Railroad, Nat Turner's rebellion, the Armistad revolt...etc.), made up primarily of slaves in the south. The progressive wing of the split in the AASS formed the Liberty Party. The Liberty Party later joined the Free-Soil Party and the Free-Soil Party participated in the formation of the Republican Party which was the party of Lincoln and of the reformation of the bloody coup which was the Civil War ending in 1865.

Within the military phase of the reform movement itself, Africans were raising—by their actions and in words—demands that the white industrial bourgeoisie had to implement if it were to win. The new rulers were indeed sluggish (sluggishness has an objective basis too). At first they didn't want to confiscate the slaves in the war zones as contraband of war. Later, they had to do that. Even much later than that they had to abolish slavery all together. It was as though the white industrial bourgeoisie was taking its historical cues from the African section of the emerging American proletariat.

What is also very significant is that in order for the industrial capitalists to defeat the agrarian capitalist section of their own class, they had to arm the African laborer. With arms in hand, Africans began to confiscate and redistribute the land among themselves. The agrarian land reform question was, therefore, raised by the objective actions of the organized armed freed Africans.[14] At this point, the industrial bourgeoisie balked. It was not in their interest to break up the large monopolies of land which were the plantations of the south.

The struggle of Africans for land and against their exploitation as sharecroppers and their loosing struggle against the northern capitalists in league with local land holders, as well as the lost of significant democratic rights won in an earlier phase of the reformation; was the basis of the political struggle during the so-called "reconstruction period." When the large land holdings of the old plantation were in the hands

of the new industrial rulers of the north, there was no need for any African to have any democratic rights, especially since it was they that were providing the labor in a situation much *like* a settler colonial situation[15] within the capitalist periphery.

The struggle of the African toiler for land in the south and southwest took many turns and it was able, though it was under the most brutal repression any movement has ever seen, to have an impact upon other layers of the society. The Populist Movement of the 1890's was under the direct influence of the movement of African toilers for land. But it was not independently organized or self organized and its effect was limited.

iii. The Urbanization of Black Labor

As a result of the transformation of a significant sector of the African population from a rural southern sharecropping position to an urban, northern, marginal wage earning industrial working force beginning in the early 1920's the ground work was laid for another independent mass movement centered in the ghettoes of the cities. Of course, this movement came to be known as the Garvey Movement. A close examination of that movement and its impact reveals several important characteristics. Its independence, vigor, validity and vitality cannot be denied...though its political content has often been consciously misrepresented in many quarters. But let us draw our attention to the specific character of its influence on the rest of American society. While we are doing this, a clear view of the bourgeois democratic demands under the banner of national independence and self determination for the Black man the world over has to remain paramount in our thinking as the central thrust of this urbanized metropolitan movement. If we are to grasp clearly the historical consequences of this stage in the independent African People's Movement within the particular context of capitalism and indeed imperialist American society, this must be done. Garvey raised, in his own way, the demand for "self government and national independence for the Black man," an anti-imperialist democratic demand. His movement was repressed. He was jailed on *federal charges* and deported in 1927. The very next year the American Communist Party along with other European Marxists formulated a resolution on the "Negro Question."

The resolution read in part:

> ..the Party must come out openly and unreservedly for the right of Negroes to self-determination in the southern states, where the Negroes form a majority of the population...The Negro question in the United States must be treated in its relation to the Negro question and struggles in other parts of the world. The Negro race everywhere is an oppressed race. Whether it is a minority (U.S.A., etc.), majority (South Africa), the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism. Thus, a common tie of interest is established for the revolutionary struggle of race and national liberation from imperialist domination of the Negroes in various parts of the world.[16]

The Garvey Movement was part of the wider debate that this resolution reflected. Cadre within the Communist Party U.S.A., with a significant Black left within it, went on to become the principle organizers of the CIO which had by 1936 become a reality, as part of the "New Deal." It is evident that what brought the anti-fascist left wing of the American bourgeoisie to power with the election of Roosevelt was a sweeping mass movement with the African marginal proletariat taking the lead, and being the decisive force with their massive shift from the Republican Party, the Party Lincoln and the Reformation of 1863, to the Democratic Party led by Roosevelt and the new liberal sector of the bourgeoisie. The "New Deal" may not have taken the course that it did had it not been for the Garvey Movement. In a very real sense, quite possibly it was the independent vitality of the African people's new urban movement, during that time, that effectively served to set the democratic forces into motion that resulted in the blocking of certain right wing forces that could have led to the creation of fascism in America.

Within the southern rural areas where the overwhelming majority of our people remained until after the Second Imperialist World War, the struggle for democratic rights continued. But when the requirements for African labor in the urban areas of both the north and the budding military-industrial south made the political changes in the status of African labor mandatory; the basis for the next stage was set by the mid-1950's

The "Civil Rights Movement" burst out of the urban south and

spread like wild fire. It is significant that it started with a blow at the point of consumption. Blacks in the south were not yet strong or conscious enough at the urban point of production. That would come later, with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. The Montgomery Bus Boycott was initiated by the African working class. The car pools were organized and the Boycott had already been set into motion, being initiated from the Dexter Street Baptist Church by the Montgomery Improvement Association lead by Rosa Parks and E.D. Nixon himself a member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the NAACP-organizations from a previous period within the struggle of Black laborer people. The Montgomery Bus Boycott had been well on the way when the young preacher, Rev. Martin Luther King was called to act as its spokesman. Though the limited demands raised by the petit-bourgeois leadership of this African mass movement which is known in the history books as the "Civil Rights Movement" coincided with the interest of the larger white bourgeoisie. But social thrust, however, had to come from the bottom. It had to come from the African masses themselves.

By the mid-1960's what was once the Civil Rights Movement had transformed itself into the "Black Power Movement" as the class leadership of the previous stage changed from the black petit-bourgeoisie without its own ideology to the "Black Nationalist", anti white bourgeoisie, anti white capitalist position of the Black working class.

The 1967 insurrection in Detroit, Michigan, in the middle of the industrial heartland of the mightiest imperialist nation of this period, proved to be a high point in this conspicuous wave of mass social democratic activity.

But unlike the spectacular insurrections of the mid-1960's which served to redistribute the wealth temporarily to a limited degree at the point of consumption; please observe an almost unnoticed event. On May 2, 1972 at Chrysler's Dodge Main Plant in Hamtramck, a walk-out took place and seven African workers were fired. African workers were now beginning to take significant independent action against the monopoly capitalist at the point where the most basic and fundamental exploitation takes place, at the point of production.

A general summary point can be made here. The form of political struggle is circumscribed by the economic position in which a group

of people are placed by historical developments. When our people were slaves, the most dramatic form that the political struggle took were slave insurrections and mass exodus through the underground railroad. The latter proved to be decisive because it was a direct strike at the point of production- the point where the plantation reproduced itself. In fact, the underground railroad itself was an organized and disciplined form which emerged out of the imperatives of that particular necessity. African populism, the struggle for land against the land monopolies, was the political form that the movement of African people took as we were transformed from chattels to sharecroppers still within the new form of the enduring plantation system. Africans organized to leave the south. Africans struggled within the populist movement itself. During the period where we were a marginal proletariat, we struggled to become a solidly entrenched proletarian people.

Observe the form that the early urbanized African workers movement took. The Garvey Movement for basic democratic rights (self-respect and self-government) taking place within the 1920s, imperceptively melted into the CIO with a strong left wing made up of Africans. Many in the CIO were part of the Garvey Movement. This broad workers movement took place within the decade of the 1930s. The struggle for democratic rights in the south (the Civil Rights Movement) to go with the new proletarian status of the Black man in America, took place within the decade after the Second Imperialist World(the 1950s). All of this is a part of the process that resulted in the African here in America becoming a stable proletarian people within the last few decades in the history of this century.

II. The Detroit Reality

The emergence of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit was by no means an accident. Within an economy characterized by a dominant monopoly sector with big unions and privileged white labor—the struggle of the African laborer for equality would logically bring them up against both the unions and management. It was, therefore, in Detroit where we find the largest and most strategically placed number of African workers laboring within the monopoly sector of the economy. The Big Three automobile manufacturing corporations based in Detroit represent the most massive single industry, perhaps

the most enormous share of the total surpluses expropriated by the capitalist class in the nation.

In Detroit, Henry Ford, by design, attempted to count Black workers as part of his overall plan to counteract narrow white unionism. The Ford Corporation tried to use them as "scabs" when our people were becoming an urban industrial proletarian force in the early 1940s.

After the war, Africans were becoming increasingly and indispensably a part of the city and its plants. This resulted in the necessity for the UAW bureaucrats to, at least, give lip service to the early civil rights phase of the Black democratic rights movement. The United Auto Workers (UAW) could not be effective unless it projected itself as the champion of the Black working man. On the other hand, it could not reconcile its liberal social reform policy with the rabid racism that existed within all levels of its own bureaucracy.

In 1957, as part of the Civil Rights thrust, the Trade Union Leadership Council was formed within the UAW. This group of reform minded, lower level African bureaucrats proved ineffective in eliminating the day to day problems of the African in shop laborer. His conditions grew more and more intolerable while the Black union officials grew fatter, more numerous and more corrupt. This coupled with the two-facedness of the white elite bureaucrats at the top of the UAW proved to be a heavy load for the African workers of the "motor city." The whip of reactionary police repression, therefore, drove Africans into the streets of Detroit in 1967 in the bloodiest of all urban Black rebellions, of this period. When the aches settled, the "city of cars" was a different place, as all manner of Black nationalist militant organizational formations sprang up from the fertile ground of the people in conspicuous mass upheaval. The Nation of Islam, born in Detroit, was joined by the National Black Economic Development Conference, the Republic of New Africa, the Shrine of the Black Madonna, and the Pan-African Congress U.S.A., along with many militant Black student formations. The Black Power Movement had blossomed. In the opinion of many, the League was the most advanced and the most highly developed of these formations.

III. A Brief History of the LRBW

It is not the intent of this section of this chapter to go into every

detail of the development of the League but rather to cite relevant facts to an overall analysis. Again, you will have to find out the intricate details for yourself. Though the League existed for a very short time (May 2, 1968-August 1971), its impact is undeniable. In order to begin our analysis of the history of the League a passage from the Guardian pamphlet, *Black Workers in Revolt*, can serve as an interesting point of departure. Chuck Wooten, one of the original nine African workers who formed the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) which was the parent organization of the League, is quoted in the pamphlet as saying:

> During the wildcat strike of May 1968, upon coming to work that morning, there were picket lines established which, ironically, were manned by all white workers at the time and as a result of this all the Black workers received the harshest disciplinary actions.[17]

Wooten goes on:

> A few workers and I went across the street and sat in the bar, sitting there drinking. We were sitting at the table talking and it was here we decided we would do something about organizing black workers to fight the racial discrimination inside the plants and the overall oppression of black workers. Well, this was something I'd been trying to get started in the body shop for the four years I was in there, but I just never ran into anyone who was conscious enough to really take some steps about doing something about this. And this was the beginning of DRUM.[18]

The fact that Black workers were not in the shops and were therefore, withholding their labor from the point of production that day allowed Wooten and his buddies to be across the street in the bar drinking and planning an organizational form that had its beginning within the movement of the workers themselves.

On the heels of the assassination of Martin Luther King (April 4, 1968) Africans in the U.S. responded with 131 urban rebellions.[19] This mass activity reached the point of production less than a month later,

as speedups and other conditions in the plant sparked that wildcat at Dodge Main, a factory where more than 75% of the work force was African. The African people's movement in this new period of struggle was coming of age.

Shortly thereafter the first *DRUM newsletter* was printed. An article appearing in the *South End*, the student newspaper at Wayne State University just taken over by radical Black students, in the January 23rd, 1968 issue explains the content of the first issues of the *DRUM Newsletter.*

> The contents of the newsletter dealt with very specific cases of both racism and tomism on the job and stressed the necessity of united action on the part of black workers to abolish the racial aspects of the exploitation and degradation going on at the plant...[20].

Of the reception of the nesletter by the workers the South End article went to say:

> The reaction of the workers to the first issue of DRUM was general acceptance. They were somewhat astounded to see the truth in print. Most considered it a move in the right direction.
>
> Naturally, the reaction of management was hostile. They were so blinded by their racist sterotype image of the black man that it was hard for them to believe that DRUM was written by Black workers initiating and carrying out an intelligent program.
>
> In the second issue of DRUM several toms at the plant were blown. The brothers really dug it. DRUM had gotten over in a big way. From then on, the brothers looked for DRUM every week. Amazingly, not one DRUM could be found thrown away or lying around.[21]

From the very beginning the African workers identified both Chrysler and the UAW as the enemy, and had a suspicious eye on their own petit-bourgeoisie; a very good start indeed. After the sixth week, a boycott of the bars across the street from the main gate was initiated and proved successful.

A little later a very important thing happened during the change

over period to the production of "1969 models" which is accompanied by an almost total temporary lay-off. Just prior to the lay-off time, a certain number of the old models had to be produced before the changeover could be initiated. The leaders of DRUM decided, because of their knowledge of how critical this period was within the production schedule of the Chrysler Corporation and the UAW, to attempt to shut down the plan. According to the second issue of DRUM: (from the *South End* article)

> On Thursday of the ninth week, DRUM got down! They held a rally in the parking lot across from the plant. A number of groups from the black community were present at the rally... Friday, the next day, at five o'clock in the morning DRUM and its supporting groups turned black workers away at the gate. No attempt was made to interfere with white workers.
>
> The first few workers to arrive were met by a handful of picketers without signs. The workers were not hip to the shut-down date. After the picketers ran it to them, one worker replied: "Shutting down this motherfucker, whatever the reason, is cool as far as I'm concerned..."
>
> Before noon, six DRUM members went to the local and met with Ed Liska, the president, a few other bigots and a smattering of Toms...DRUM stated that they came to negotiate from a position of strength and power. They pointed out that there were over 3,000 angry black workers standing outside the gate because they were resolutely opposed to the racist policy of Chrysler and the oppressive conditions in the plant. Production almost stood still that day. Thus, the value of their labor was clearly shown. Thus, the value of their labor was clearly shown.
>
> Before the DRUM members hatted up, they ran a thing to Liska that if he didn't get positive results from the meeting with the international board of Chrysler, the only honorable thing left for him and his five jive time staff to do would be to respectfully step down. DRUM then split.[22]

With this action, the DRUM movement had effectively challenged

the Chrysler Corporation and the UAW's legitimacy. Such was the kind of mass activity that DRUM was engaged in at its inception. This is enough to begin our analysis. We see that DRUM of Detroit was part of a larger wave of relatively spontaneous mass activity on the part of the independent African people's movement in the U.S. of North America. We see that the May 2, 1968 wildcat caught in the brothers who would later become the leaders of DRUM by surprise. We see some excellent agitational work being done to drive the mass movement forward with the DRUM newsletters. We see the discipline of the workers as they read the newsletters and did not throw any of them away. We see that it was African workers that produced the newsletter themselves. We see the workers who understand their situation best building momentum and timing their shut down at the most critical period in the production schedule. But most clearly, we see organization and an organizational form come out of popular mass movement, and become part of that movement.

After this flurry of activity which set off similar activity in other plants, such as Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle Plant in particular, as a result of the proliferation of African workers' activity, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers was formed as federation of the different local affiliate organizations. Among them were DRUM at Dodge Main, ELRUM at Eldon Gear and Axle, FRUM at the Ford Rouge complex, and JRUM at Chrysler's Jefferson Ave. Plant, along with many other smaller formations, some of which were even outside the auto industry; i.e. MARUM at Mack Avenue Stamping Plant, CADRUM at Cadillac Fleetwood, NEWRUM at the Detroit News, and UPRUM at the United Parcel warehouse.

The most significant of these inshop formations was undoubtedly DRUM. Just prior to the time of the initial wildcat that spawned DRUM, a group of Black radical students had taken over the Wayne State University's student daily newspaper. One of the principal moving forces within this collective was John Watson. Watson advocated the creation of a "Black Bolshevik"[23] revolutionary party based within the Black working class. Others were Luke Tripp who was at that time, part of the Black Panther Party(BPP) and claimed that his ideology was "Mau Mau Maoism"[24] and John Williams, also a one time member of the BPP. Later this group of radicals came together to form a community

newspaper called the *Inner City Voice* which, after the formation of the League, became its official organ.

On the one hand, there was conspicuous Black worker movement in the plants which resulted in the formation of DRUM and other shop floor formations; and on the other, there was a hard core group of student type activists clustered about the *Inner City Voice.* The Black workers came together with the student types; at first providing support, then becoming part of the leadership. Such then, is how the League was born.

The League like so many other organizations which come into being out of a need created by mass activity began to turn into an organization which saw, after the wave had passed, that work must continue. But they were uncertain as to the character of their thrust. A general principle that has relevance in this regard is that revolutionaries do mass work in preparation for the next moment when the proper ripening of forces and circumstances are present that set the masses into motion. Within the periods of conspicuous mass activity agitation, participation, and support, to drive it forward should be applied in such a manner so as not to stifle the energies of the masses. And when the period of conspicuous mass activity is over, it is over. An evaluation and consolidation period must follow. Those who profess to understand the revolutionary process have to learn to use creativity and finesse always keeping his/her eyes trained on what the masses are creating themselves in their many acts of struggle.

The form of work that was chosen to continue with by DRUM was to struggle within Union electoral politics. From the *South End* article there were some differences on this questions.

> The argument against participation in UAW politics was that we are resolutely opposed to the UAW; therefore, we didn't want to appear to be compromising by working within it. Further, there was the likelihood of opportunism arising and finally some members of DRUM were reluctant to engage in a campaign which they felt they couldn't win.[25]

However on the other hand, others argued;

> ...the election of a trustee would serve to popularize the real

> leadership of DRUM. In addition to that, most members saw that the most important thing was not winning the election but the demonstration of DRUM power and black solidarity. The campaign would serve as an excellent means of raising the consciousness of the workers and strengthening its membership drive.[26]

The argument for union electoral politics won and in the 13th issue of the *Newsletter* it was affirmed that:

> "...it will be the beginning of the complete political takeover of Dodge local 3. Therefore, DRUM is presenting a platform that must be upheld..."[27]

The move in that direction was met with overt repression and gains were meager indeed. The struggle learns better from negative example, however. The "whip of the counter-revolution"[28] also drives the revolution forward .

The question of whether or not DRUM and the League should have become involved in Union politics will not be considered here in any great detail. For our purposes it is enough to say that it was necessary to challenge the Union's validity, and that electoral politics was chosen in order to make some agitational points. That is enough.

On November 9, 1969 a demonstration took place at Detroit's Cobo Hall where the UAW was in convention. This effort provides an excellent example of good work done outside of the realm of strict electoral politics. There was a picket line set of about 200 persons, mostly League activists. A list of propaganda demands was raised. It also had media coverage. Too often militants judge successes by whether of not the insurgency struck a deadly blow to the State, rather than by how many African workers were reached. This occurs especially when the mass movement is tapering off from a period of conspicuous change to a period of relative inactivity. Put simply, the confusion lies in the difference between when it is effective to agitate and when it is effective to propagandize.

During the period of November of 1969 to July 1970 the League of Revolutionary Black Workers was formally becoming an organizational entity with a stated, but often unenforced, set of rules

of discipline. This was a period of the rapid expansion of supportive components and other organizational structures which emphasized work in other layers of the African population, i.e. the Black Student United Front, the National Association of Black Students, Black Star Printing, Black Star Productions, The Inner City Voice, and others.

The period after the adoption of the League Program in July of 1970 was characterized by continued expansion, great difficulty with internal education and an internal ideological struggle which took the form of an internal struggle for democracy. It was primarily this internal struggle for democracy which led to a purge in April of 1971 and a split a few months later. But the most fundamental aspect of this later period was that the League was getting away from the mass work within the African working class layer, as a priority.

IV. Black Bolshevism or Black Revolutionary Nationalism

Sharp ideological struggle was part of the LRBW's development. It offers us rich grounds for clarifying some of the questions that continue to face our movement. At this point it is necessary to go into the ideological differences that manifested themselves within the leadership as well as the general membership of the League. An analysis of the basis and of the ideological significance of the questions being contested is critical especially in as much as the organization was beginning to define itself as the embryo of a "Vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party." Indeed, it was often characterized as the beginnings of a "Black Bolshevik Party"[29] on many occasions.

Since things are never as they, at first appear to be, let us proceed by stating what appeared to be the case, then we will advance a theoretical interpretation of what this ideological struggle may have, in reality meant.

The struggle apparently centered around the role of "African revolutionary nationalism" versus the dogmatic application of "Marxism" to the African workers' struggle in America. The position of the revolutionary African nationalists was put forth by Ernie Mkalimoto, in a League Pamphlet, *Revolutionary Black Nationalism and the Class Struggle*:

> ...From the activist wing of the Bourgeois Reformist it

> (Revolutionary Black Nationalism) takes the tactic of mass confrontation, struggles on all fronts, and integrates it into the existing order: from Bourgeois Nationalism comes the idea of the necessity for the development of national (revolutionary) culture and of both self-determination and self-reliance, as well as of the black world view which sees the struggle of African-Americans as inseparable from the struggles of all other peoples of color around the globe. The Revolutionary Nationalist views the concept of black nationhood not as any 'sacred' unquestionable end in itself, but as a concrete guarantee to insure the dignity and full flowering of every individual of African descent.[30]

It is clear from this that Mkalimoto is conceptualizing the position of Black people in America as that of an oppressed nation with the right of self-determination, up to and, possibly including secession from what is now the American nation state. It is perhaps, safe to conclude that this position represented those who saw the Black liberation struggle as a struggle for national liberation with its goal the establishment of a "Black nation state" on the North American mainland.

Now let us hear from the other side of this uncrystalized internalized internal ideological dispute. If we go to the *Program* of the LRBW we will find:

> "our short range objective is to secure state power with the control of the means of production in the hands of the workers under the leadership of the most advanced section of the working class, the black working class vanguard."[31]

It is difficult to tell from the statement above if African workers are a class that belongs to an oppressed African national formation or if they are a section of the American working class. It would seem, however that from the statement, the latter is the case. If so, then these are clearly two different ideological positions from which different organizational tactics must, of necessity, flow.

In a more basic sense it could be argued that this ideological struggle was in reality part of the process by which the question of the historically derived difference between the objective positions of

black and white labor within the context of developing American capitalism and all of the tactical implications that follow from a given position taken on the question, was working itself out. Coupled with that another equally important question was also being opened up. That is the question of the role of conscious organized leadership. The debate around the "Vanguard Party" may have, in fact, been a struggle against elitism.

What is being said here is not that the "nationalist" were clear on the role of Black independent organization and were opposed to the elitism of the "Marxists." Such a simplistic interpretation will not carry us very far. Instead we are here advancing the notion that two interrelated ideological questions were being worked out with no single grouping being absolutely clear. What is clear is that a resolution could not be reached within the organizational structure of the League as it existed at that time. The resolution of this question must await other yet unborn organizational formations.

These different political tendencies were brought into greater conflict when the tactical question of how to deal with the Black petit-bourgeoisie arose. The "revolutionary Nationalists" would work with and learn from the petit-bourgeoisie, recognizing its limitations as well as the character of the radicalization process which certain elements from it are forced to go through because of the generalized oppression of all sectors of Black society and the uneven development within that process at any given time.[32] On the other hand, if one holds that Africans are merely the most oppressed sector of the American proletariat, then the conclusion is, therefore, that the African petit-bourgeoisie is a backward class and some would even say that it is the enemy of the working class's struggle (an extreme view indeed). But in any case this view would lead to the conclusion that the African petit-bourgeoisie is more backward than the white working class or, at least it (the African petit-bourgeoisie) has very little revolutionary potential as a class or that elements from that class have little potential for radicalization and are not a priority for organizational work. That is exactly what happened. What is being said is not that the League should have done organizational work among the African petit-bourgeoisie at the expense of work within the African working class.

But rather that some work needed to be done within the petit-bourgeoisie.

V. Moving Away From the Point of Production

As the League "grew" much emphasis was place upon the procurement of "resources." This became a stated prerequisite for continued "growth" and most of this type of work was done among the white petit-bourgeoisie and white society in general. One of the forms that it took was the establishment of a book club for the purpose of selling more books from the League's bookstore. Most of its membership was white petit-bourgeoisie types. It eventually, in effect, became a component of the organization giving rise to some antagonism in this area. Mike Hamlin[33], speaking for a faction of the EB, at a general body meeting held on March 28th, 1971, just prior to the purge, stated that :

> ".....attitudes of certain members of the League toward whites with whom it may be necessary to work will no longer be tolerated."[34]

He termed this type of behavior as "subjectivism."[35] Whether or not this is indeed subjectivism is not the point. But rather the fact that it was part of the friction that was developing, and had by this point become inflamed. There was contention between these two tendencies within the organization from top to bottom. That was the point to be made in this connection.

VI. Organizational Structure and Internal Contradiction: The Struggle for Internal Democracy

The weight of the organization upon itself increased as the so-called "growth" of the League in "resources" and supportive components were contributing to the development of an encumbering bureaucracy. This bureaucracy was, supposedly, set up to administer all of these new supportive components. As a consequence much time and effort was wasted in the maintainance of offices, personnel, and resources. As time went on the acquisition of new offices and resources became the criterion used to judge the effectiveness of the

organization instead of plant mass work. The struggle against the entrenched bureaucracy and for internal democracy represents a struggle against an organization in the way of itself.

At this point, a few statements about the basic structure of the organization are in order. The LRBW was made up of many components such as: DRUM, FRUM, ELRUM, JRUM, and the other inshop workers' organizations. These were supposed to be the most important components which were initially the central focus of the major organizational effort. But the League also had many supportive components like the *Inner City Voice*, the organ of the organization; Black Star Printing; Black Star Productions; and the International Black Appeal. Additionally, there were other organizational components working within other layers of the Black population, for example; the Black Student United Front, UNICOM, and PAC, which were community organizations. There were also several other community components. Besides these components there were also six departmental divisions. These were: 1) Education, 2) Recreation, 3) Communications, 4) Recruitment, 5) Social Welfare, and 6) Fundraising. It also had two city regional directors. Representation from all of the components, departments and the regional director sat on the Central Staff(CS). From the CS the Executive Board(EB) was supposed to be elected, according to the program of the LRBW. In practice this never happened.

At a retreat of the Central Staff which was held in November of 1970 several of the CS members called into question the bureacratic nature of the organizational structure of the League. A well prepared paper was presented at this retreat by Ernie Mkalimoto[36] which argued that the League was not, and could not become, a Vanguard Organization under its present structure. The position paper further stated that the League was not a Mass Organization either. The critical different characteristics of these two forms of organization were then outlined within the paper. The conclusion reached was that at best the League was a cadre developing organization. The paper stated that the Executive Board by its nature was elitist because it could make policy but as a body did not implement policy. It did not do practical work. The position paper then called for several structural changes designed to address the specific structural contradictions that

were identified.

The paper, in addition, proposed that the Central Staff, since it had direct working contact with the lowest level of the organization would become the highest policy making body outside of a League Congress. Another problem cited in the paper was the inability of the organization to coordinate and follow up on decisions which were reached by higher bodies. This happened for two reasons as the paper stated: 1) since the executive body was out of touch with the lower levels of the organization and was not accountable to them, its plans, programs, and directives could not be implemented because they were out of line with the capacity and circumstances of the lower level components. And 2) there was no follow-up or coordinating body which could serve as a mechanism for the type of continuity within the practice of the organization that was sought. These are, generally, some of the general problems within many other organizations with excessive bureaucracies. A coordinating body which would have no authority to make policy was then suggested, and that the EB be abolished. It was then recommended that in order to insure that the elitism present within the leadership body (the EB) be eliminated, its members be required to do "mundane tasks." And as a final recommendation it was put forth that on the CS there be built in a mechanism to insure that at any given time the vast majority of the members be workers representing local workers' organizations.[37]

After the presentation was complete those presenting it came under vicious attack by the EB. Questions were asked as to where these criticisms came from. If we looked at the section of the League's program under the duties of the EB it can be easily seen that the organizational structure is clearly bureaucratic. The section read:

> The executive board is charged with overall planning, training, directions, and functions. It will exercise general directions of all the practical activities of the League: To insure the proper utilization and allocation of all its forces; to exercise control over the activities of all sections of the League; to supply the local organizations with literature; to organize the technical apparatus of the League; to convene the Black Workers Congresses.[38]

In any event, after the criticisms were laid out accusations about a "power play" were made. Even though it is clearly stated in the Program of the LRBW that any member of the organization has the right:

> ....."to politically criticize any other member at League meetings...To address any questions or statements to any League body, up to and including the executive board."[39]

And, indeed, the retreat was *designed specifically* for that purpose, i.e. to hear and act upon specific criticisms from those present, in order to "rectify our style of work."[40]

Several months after the CS retreat, there was a CS meeting (Jan.16, 1971) that was regarded by the EB as being illegal because the EB had attempted to cancel it and failed. After this happened the EB called a CS meeting on January 23rd , 1971 in order to re-establish its control over the organization.

Perhaps the best way in which to approach what happened in this meeting is to recount from notes[41] what was said by the principal spokesman for the EB at this time . Ken Cockrel[42], a radical African lawyer in Detroit, and member of the EB was its most definitive spokesman. He mentioned the democratic nature of the League. He invoked a passage from the League's program which discusses the binding nature of decisions reached by higher bodies upon those of lower ones which is one aspect of *democratic centralism*. He stated that *democratic centralism* was the basic organizational character of the League. In section 27 under *Structure* it states that:

> The guiding principle of the organization structure of League is democratic centralism which signifies; (Cockrel only mentioned section D.)...Absolutely binding character of the decisions of higher bodies upon lower bodies.[43]

What he failed to mention was the fact that the higher bodies were to be elected from lower ones, the other aspect of *democratic centralism*. The EB consisted of the founders of the organization and were never elected. He also said that since the retreat the organization was in a state of "crisis." He then stated that in order for *democratic centralism* to work, that people must be politically responsible, and true Marxists-Leninist. Until

then the League will be run (in a strict centralist manner) by the EB. He made the position of the EB very explicit when he said:

> "...people can tell this undemocratic or elitist, etc., but that is just too bad, because this is the way the organization is going to be run."[44]

He finally stated that the reason that the EB had attempted to cancel the CS meeting was to settle once and for all the question or "just who was running the organization."[45]

His statements affirm the degree of deterioration within the organization at this point. We find a desperate hierarchy trying hard to maintain an entity which was falling apart as its seams. In doing so it was inadvertently presiding over its own death ritual.

As the meeting drew to a close, individuals were officially reprimanded for failing to abide by the unprincipled and undemocratic ruling of the EB to cancel the meeting of January 16th, 1971, and all members of the CS were officially reprimanded for attending the meeting.[46]

In April of 1971 a purge of "Cultural Nationalists" known as "the Easter Purge" took place and a split occurred some two months later resulting in the formation of the Black Worker's Congress. The "Cultural Nationalists" were in fact ideologically "Revolutionary African Nationalists." But what is more important, they were the leaders of the internal struggle for democracy. The same inter-related questions played a central role in the split between the League and the Black Worker's Congress in July of that same year. After the "July split" the Revolutionary Nationalists that were expelled during the "Easter Purge" were invited back into the organization as a result of pressure brought against the remaining EB members by the rank and file. A meeting of the general body of the remaining League members and the purged Revolutionary African Nationalists along with members of one of the League components that had resigned as a result of the purge was held the next month (August 16,1971). In that meeting, the purgees and members who had resigned were pushing for a full review of the circumstances that led to the purge and the subsequent split as well as

an honest consideration of the ideological differences that remained within the group assembled at that meeting. The old guard leadership, those left from the old EB were pushing for an unprincipled acceptance of those that were purged or who had resigned back with full membership without the full review. Consequently, no resolution could be reached.[47]

The remnants from the Old League under the leadership of a sector of the old EB later went into retreat for some six months and re-emerged as the Detroit chapter of the Multi-national Communist League.

So ended the existence of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, an organization which had become its own fetter and therefore, faded into history. But the African worker's struggle in the wilderness of North America continues.

Notes

1. Marx, Karl & Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* (New York, International Press 1948), p. 9.

2. Allen, Robert, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America,* (Garden City, Doubleday Anchor Book, 1969), p. 1.

3. Pike, Douglas, *Viet Cong,* (Washington, D.C., 1972), p. 24.

4. Muhammad, Kimathi, *Organization and Spontaneity: The Application of the Theory of the Vanguard Party to the Black Movement in the United States*, Lansing, Unpublished, 1973, p. 1, Section on Organization and Spontaneity.

5. James, C.L.R., "Marxism and the Race Question", *Black Spark Edition*, (Montreal, Free Press, 1971), p. 7.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (Dar es Salaam, L'Ouverture-Bogle Press, 1972), pp. 84-101.

9. The analytical formulations advanced here concerning the nature of the American Revolution of 1776 are: 1) It was a bourgeois revolution taking the form of a broad struggle for national liberation; 2) the American ascendent bourgeoisie was divided into two sections, a) the merchants of the northeast withtheir stronghold in New England, and b) the slave owning planters of the south; 3) this divided bourgeoisie was seeking to establish a nation-state with a captive market so that its industry could develop; 4) the embryonic proletariat was also divided into, a) artisans and small free-hold farmers primarily in the northeast, and b) the African slaves primarily in the south.

10. Aptheker, Herbert, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, (New York, International Press, 1964), pp. 162-208.

11. The turning point in the military phase of the revolution was when the colonial army instituted the policy of granting freedom to slaves who would fight on the side of "democratic forces." Without this it is doubtful that they could have won.

12. Unlike the American Revolution of 1776 which was a genuine revolution in that a new social class came to power and a new state was formed-the Civil War was merely the military phase of a period of great reform. It is here characterized as a reform period because no new social class came to power and no new state was formed. In essence, the period represents an armed conflict between two sings of the same ascendent bourgeoisie. The proletariat remained objectively divided after the so-called reconstruction period. On the one hand, there was the southern landless agrarian proletariat and small peasant made up of ex-slaves having no democratic rights. On the hand, there was the northern immigrants working for wages in the relatively small factories, mines or as artisans and small formers enjoying some democratic rights.

13. They did not advocate sending slaves back, and never have the rulers of America advocated sending those who worked anywhere but the point at which they toll for them.

14. The task of the bourgeois reformation movement that was the Civil War from the point of view of the northern industrial and commercial wing of that class was to affirm the self-emancipation of the African slave section of the emerging proletariat. At the same, in order to cut them off from any means of subsistence, land had to be kept from them. This served three purposes. In the first instance, by continuing to alienate the Africans from the land it put them in a position where they had no other choice but to exchange their labor form some form of a wage. In the second instance, it allowed for continued and even an increase in the production of cotton upon which the textile industry of New England was based. And in the third instance, it expanded the domestic market for goods produced by northern industry.

In a real sense, therefore, the "reconstruction period" represents the struggle of the ex-slave section of the American proletariat against a unified industrial bourgeoisie for land, better conditions of labor, and for democratic rights; a struggle which was lost but which would re-emerge.

15. The objective divisions within the American proletariat as it has historically developed has been the source of much of the ideological confusion within our movement. Some have attempted to formulate this

difference between the Black or African and the white or European sections of it by advancing the notion that African people are an oppressed nation within America. To this writer, this type of formulation, while does get at some of the phenomenological aspects of the problem; it does not explain, in an objective way, the historic and present position of African labor in the context of American metropolitan monopoly capitalist society. Further, it presents some real difficulties when the tactical options that flow from such a mis-analysis are seriously examined.

16. Communist International, C. I. Resolution on the Negro Question in the U.S., in *The Communist*, Vol. 9, No. 1, January, 1930, pp. 48-55.

17. Dudnick, Robert, "Black Workers in Revolt", *Guadian Pamplet*, New York, 1969, p. 13.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*, pp, 106-107.

20. Tripp, Luke, "D.R.U.M.—Vanguard of the Black Revolution, Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement States History, Purpose and Aims", in *The South End*, Vol. 27, No. 62, January, 1969, Detroit, p. 9.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

23. Watson, John, "Historical Roots of the LRBW", An Interview in *Radical America,* July 1968.

24. Tripp, Luke, in *Conversation with Writer,* Summer, 1969.

25. Tripp, Luke, 'D.R.U.M.-Vanguard of the Black Revolution", *South End,* p. 2.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Lenin, V. I., "At the Breaking Point", (International Press, New York), *Collected Works of V.I. Lenin*, Vol. XX, Book II, 1929, pp. 248-249.

29. Watson, "Historical Roots of the LRBW", *op. cit.*

30. Mkalimoto, Ernie M. *Revolutionary Black Nationalism and the Class Struggle*, (Detroit, Black Star Publishing, 1970).

31. Executive Board of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, *The Overall Program of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers,* Detroit, 1970.

32. Cabral, Amilcar, "Identity and Dignity in Struggle, *The African World,* Vol. III, No. 1, October 28, 1972, Greensboro, N.C., p. 14.

33. Mike Hamlin was a member of the EB and one of the founders of the LRBW.

34. Kadalie, Modibo M., *Notes from the March 28th, 1971 General Body Meeting,* Unpublished, Detroit, 1971.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Ernie Mkalimoto was a member of the CS and Directed the Black Star Bookstore. He was also a leading member of the Education section.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *League Program,* op. cit., p. 11.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Executive Board of the LRBW, *Letter to Central Staff,* Unpublished, Detroit, August 26, 1970.

41. Kadalie, Modibo M., *Notes from Central Staff Meeting, January 23rd, 1971,*Unpublished, Detroit, January 23, 1971.

42. Kenneth Cockrel was a member of the EB and one of the founders of the LRBW.

43. *League Program*, op. cit., p. 15.

44. Kadalie, *Notes from Central Staff Meeting,* January 23, 1971.

45. *Ibd.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. Kadalie, Modibo M., *Notes from the August 16th, 1971 meeting of the Purgees and the Remaining Members of the Executive Board and Component Members,* Detroit, Unpublished, 1971.

CHAPTER 6

The African Liberation Support Committee and the Class/National Question

The International African Liberation Support Committee(ALSC) sprang from the felt need of Africans in the western hemisphere to support the armed fighting Liberation organizations in Guinea-Bissau and Southern Africa. Its existence as an all Black organizational formation which aims to build support for the continental Liberation struggles by uniting progressive social and class groupings in the West into a broad Black front, is in itself a statement about the perceived position of Africans on this side of the Atlantic and more primarily, those in the United States. On this point, the ALSC's *Statement of Principles* has this to say:

> "Our anti-racist, anti-imperialist, Black united front must attempt to unite all social groups and formations within the Black community in a common struggle. Thus our struggle must mobilize the masses but this can only be done when the specific character of this exploitation is clearly understood..."[1]

The statement further outlines as one of the organization's reasons for being to:

> "...participate in and aid Black community and Black workers in Struggle against oppression in the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean..."[2]

It is, then the central purpose of this chapter of the present work to focus upon what many have termed, the race/class question and its implications, as reflected within the organizational structure, significant policy decisions, and the *Statement of Principles* of the International

African Liberation Support Committee(ALSC). Policy decisions will be dealt with as they took place within the context of ideological struggle over what the principle policy document would look like. The organization's *Statement of Principles* does, of course have a direct bearing upon structural matters. Specific organizational considerations of this type will be looked at within the broader framework of policy decisions. Tactical decisions, most of which came as part of preparations for African Liberations Day, will be treated separately. There are, however some structural and organizational problems analyzed within this context as well.

At this point it is necessary to make a few remarks about the manner in which the so-called race/class question is itself casted. More often than not "race" is used with all of its biological and anthropological connotations. In this way much of the objective political significance of the question is distorted or lost altogether. It is for that reason that many revolutionary theoreticians have chosen to term the race question, the national question.[3] That is the style in which this effort will also be approached.

I. Political Tendencies

There are represented within the ALSC, at least, three major political tendencies, contrary to what has been written otherwise.[4] These tendencies result from the failure to completely synthesize the class and national aspects of our struggle and is a manifestation of the general law of uneven development within the organization as well as within the movement itself. These distinctive tendencies arise from the class contradictions within African society here in North America and reveal themselves in the decision-making process of any and all African organization forms, especially ones that have a pronounced mass or united front character. The ALSC is no exception to this rule. For our purposes here it is unnecessary to go into the nature of the classesfrom which these various ideological positions spring.[5] (See Chapter 3) All that is required is a brief description of some of the characteristics of the tendencies themselves.

That will suffice.

Political tendencies are not individuals, but the objective manner in which a given class's ideological position manifests itself on a series of political questions. A particular individual may be within one tendency on one question and another on a different one. The objective character in which these tendencies are revealed and struggle against one another is made up on a collectivity of individuals. This must be kept firmly in mind as we proceed.

Let us begin to describe these three major political tendencies. They are: 1) The Petit-bourgeois Nationalist tendency; those who view the struggle of Africans in North America as separate from and independent of the rest of the struggle for socialism here. They also have an inclination to de-emphasize, if not deny, the internal class struggle within the Black community itself. They often view the continental African peoples' struggle as more important than our people's revolutionary struggle within the North American context. That is one of the reasons that our struggle here is viewed in reformist terms and on a larger scale, all Black progress is viewed in this manner. In addition to what has already been said, great stress is placed upon traditional African cultural artifacts and patterns of behavior at the expense of revolutionary politics by this tendency. On the other hand, we have the; 2) Petit-bourgeois Dogmatic Marxist-Black Nationalist Detractor tendency which de-emphasizes the independent nature of the struggle of Africans here in the U.S. and thereby, distort the internal class struggle taking place within the historically developed national formation of African America. The Black petit-bourgeoisie is often seen as the sole enemy of the Black section of the American working class and the white proletariat is often viewed as their class brothers or allies, in this present period of our struggle when, clearly they are secondary benefactors of and are partners in this world wide system of exploitation. They are, therefore, the victims of oppression by this system which we call imperialism. This tendency often regards the continental African people's revolutionary struggle as relatively unimportant when compared with the struggle of the American proletariat for socialism. They, therefore, negate Black and African culture even in its most revolutionary aspects.

The struggle of the masses and the struggle of these two ideologically opposing tendencies have resulted in a synthesis that is the third political tendency found with the International ALSC. 3) The Revolutionary African (Black) Nationalist tendency, which views the Black struggle as the independent movement of an underdeveloped and stunted national formation with a momentum and thrust all of its own. They understand that there is objective class opposition and struggle contained within it. They do not view the Black petit-bourgeoisie as the principle enemy. But in the same breath, they do not see it as the leadership class either. On the contrary, the Black working class is regarded as the objective social class that will provide class leadership in our struggle for socialism in North America. The continental liberation struggle is seen as part of the Pan-African revolutionary movement and, in an even broader sense, the world-wide revolutionary process. It is for that reason, according to this tendency, that these struggles should be supported. But this support should not be given at the expense of struggle here. Rather, it should be given in recognition of the unevenly developing multi-national and multi-class Pan-African mass movement under the class leadership of a multi-national worker and peasant population. This is to say, that the continental African liberation struggles represent, at this juncture, the highest point within the international African peoples' struggle for revolutionary political power. This view of the inter-relationship between the continental and diasporian African people's struggle leads those within this tendency to embrace the progressive aspects of African and Black culture and to reject its backward aspects. On the whole Revolutionary Nationalist seems to be less rash, more politically well developed, and much better tacticians than representatives from the other two tendencies under consideration here.

These are three political tendencies that are seen to be operative within the ALSC at this time. They are categories of convenince, but they are more than that. They are viewed as being objective and real; not as mere abstract mental contrivances.

The way in which policy and tactical decisions are arrived at by the organization though it is a subjective process, has its basis within the objective inter-play of these three political tendencies. In this there is one pattern that is readily discernible. It appears that the

Revolutionary Nationalist have hegemony and unite with either the Petit-bourgeois Nationalist or the Dogmatic Marxist Detractors of Nationalism depending upon whether the policy or tactical decision is concerned with maintaining the independence of the Black struggle or with affirming the class relationships operative within that struggle respectively.

II. Policy Decisions and the Beginnings of a Statement of Principles

After African Liberation Day 1972, which proved to be a huge success mainly because of the mobilization of some 55,000 Blacks in Washington D.C., San Francisco, Toronto, Greneda, Dominica, and Antigua,[6] the founding meeting of the ALSC was convened at Malcolm X Liberation University(MXLU) in Greensboro, North Carolina, on July 26,1972. The activists that were assembled at the MXLU represented the people from around the country who had done the primary organizing work for ALD '72 at the local level. The nationally known Black militant celebrities who did not do work were conspicuously absent. Since most of the activists at the meeting had been organizers for some time the discussion was rich with their experiences. Most of the exchange, debate, and discussion took place around what would be the central focus of the stated support policy of the newly created organization. It was at this Greensboro meeting that the basic ground work was laid.

In general, the first few meetings of ALSC involved ideological struggle over policy and structure. Tactical decisions were not necessary until later as part of the preparation for ALD '73.

Of general concern at this particular gathering (in Greensboro) was; who was going to be supported and how was this going to be done? Since the convened body was charged with drawing up a "statement of purpose" which was nothing more than a crude "Statement of Principles," most of the discussion about these two questions took place within the context of what would be the specific content of this statement.

On the first aspect of this general concern (i.e. who was going to be supported) the exchange focused upon three key questions. The

first was the question of the disposition of the zionist state of Israel within ALSC policy. The second question was; what would become ALSC's policy on the Vietnamese peoples struggle? And the last question in this connection was; how would the struggle of African people against reactionary neo-colonial regimes, i.e. the Eritrean struggle be addressed?

The alignment of the political tendencies that have been described earlier in this chapter on these questions is revealing. Petit-bourgeois Nationalists thought that a statement condemning Israel should be adopted as part of ALSC's statement of purpose. The Petit-bourgeois Dogmatic Marxists-Black Nationalist Detractors were arguing for both "material and moral support"[7] of the Palestinian fighting organizations. The Petit-bourgeois Nationalists, while they wished to condemn Israel, did not want to support the Palestinian people's struggle because the Arabs were slavers and represented a privileged people in Black African Countries.[8] The Revolutionary Nationalists took the position that the central focus of the committee should be Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau, and Israel was only to be dealt with as it was related to Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau through its military and economic aid.[9] This proved to be the consensus of the body and was adopted as general policy.[10]

Within this debate, the Dogmatic Marxists raised inclusion of a specific statement of support and material aid for "the Vietnamese and all progressive peoples."[11] The Revolutionary Nationalist united with the Petit-bourgeois Nationalists in opposition to this by affirming that the Vietnamese people were indeed waging a heroic and just struggle, but reaffirming that our purpose was to focus in on the African in the Americas for support of the revolutionary African Liberation struggles being waged in Southern Africa and in Guinea-Bissau. This proved, again to be the consensus of the body and through this decision the centrality of our independent Black cause was maintained.

The national/class issue could be clearly seen when the question of a statement of support for liberation struggles that might be against neo-colonial regimes was raised by the Revolutionary Nationalist tendency and supported by the Dogmatic Marxists. After some discussion the question was resolved in favor of maintaining a clear

and unmistakable emphasis on those areas which remain under classical colonial rule or under the dictatorship of a white minority ruled government. Coming to this conclusion was partly a function of the fact that no revolutionary civil war has reached the point in Africa where power is actually being contested. Hence, no anti neo-colonialism clause can be found within the statement of purpose adopted later at the next meeting of the national ALSC in Detroit on September 30, 1972.[12] The statement does, however, include direct references in opposition to "racism and imperialism,"[13] as well as in indirect reference to the problem of neo-colonialism. That can be found in the fifth objective of the document which read in part:

> "...provide public support and encouragement for all African Government which aid the Southern African Liberation movements."[14]

The five objectives contained in the policy statement adopted at Detroit can give us an idea of how national/class issues figured into the struggle of these tendencies which enable them to come to a resolution of their differences as they fashioned ALSC policy. The adopted objectives were:

1. To provide financial material and moral support to the liberation struggles now being fought on the African continent against the remaining European colonial governments.

2. To inform our brothers and sisters in the U.S., Canada and the Caribbean of the nature and importance of the liberation struggles and to emphasize our relationship to the overall struggler of African people against racism and imperialism.

3. To inform our brothers and sisters on the African continent about our position on the nature of the struggles in the Western Hemisphere with a view toward cultivating a reciprocal relationship.

4. To work for the removal of the military, economic,

and political support to white minority ruled governments in Southern Africa.

5. To provide public support and encouragement for all African governments which aid the Southern African Liberation movements.[15]

These objectives clearly emphasize the independent Black side of the national (race)/class issue with the class aspect of it only raising its head in a single anti-imperialism clause. This state of affairs is based, essentially, upon two factors. One has already been mentioned. It is the fact that no armed liberation struggle against a neo-colonial government is being waged at a significant level yet. The other is that there is an emerging activist wing of the petit-bourgeois cultural nationalist movement that was beginning to break with an idealist's conception of African support and beginning to approach the question in more concrete materialist terms. These elements were the most committed, among others, to the formation of the ALSC. It was, therefore, natural for them to begin to address a Black issue from a Black perspective. Hence, the nature of the issue that was chosen (support of African Liberation struggles) dictated that nationalistic (race) concerns were uppermost.

With respect to the question of who the ALSC would support partially answered, we will now turn to a consideration of the alignment of the political tendencies with regard to the critical relationship between the struggle of African people here in North America and of our people on the African continent. Looking again at the five adopted objectives of the first policy document of the organization, or its *Statement of Purpose*, we can see the importance of this struggle over the elements of stated policy. The Revolutionary Nationalist continued to call for a policy position reflecting some general analysis of our struggle here. The Petit-bourgeois Nationalist tendency de-emphasized this aspect of the question because it was felt by them that nothing of significance could be done by our people within the context of North America until Africa is free. The latter proved to be the minority position, and objectives two and three hence became part of the document.

From this we can see that the question of how the support was going to be given was addressed and generally answered, with a concrete commitment and a call for an analysis of our own struggle within North America.

These, then, were the basic ingredients of the organization's policy as they were decided upon during the course of its first two meetings . In a real sense, the history of the development of ALSC's policy reflects the history of the crystallization of the meaning of the Black question in both its class and national terms for the independent African movement in North America. As the rich practice of the organization is interpreted, more clarity will be brought to the essential nature of this question.

III. Tactical And Structural Decisions

Since there had been only one major mobilization from the founding meeting to the adoption of a more refined and completed *Statement of Principles* in the June 28, 29, 30, and July 1, 1973 meeting at Frogmore, South Carolina, we should, perhaps, give consideration to a few of the intervening major tactical decisions that provided the basis for a enriched policy before returning to an analysis, of that policy. That is the manner in which we shall proceed. As part of our analysis certain structural decisions will be looked at as they serve to provide added clarity to the developments under consideration.

The Detroit meeting was devoted primarily to the election of the leadership officers and the development of an organizational structure. What is of particular importance to us at this meeting was that the basis for the African Liberation Day sub-committee was set up.[16] This proved to be a source of much contention and friction as the organization began to gear up for the large mobilization which was to become ALD'73.

By organizationally separating the ALSC from its ALD sub-committee, and by subordinating the latter to the former; the leadership hoped to build an organization which was more than just a structure designed to mobilize large numbers of people and raise some money during only one day in May of each year. At a subsequent meeting local ALSC's were urged to set up local ALD's.

> State and local ALD planning committees should be established. These should include the broadest possible organizational representation. Organizations should be asked to contribute machinery as well as support.ALSC will remain in control in terms of all policy decisions...[17]

At the fourth National ALSC meeting held in Washington, D.C. on December 23, 1972, a major tactical shift took place. ALD '73 was to consist of local demonstrations and fund raising activities in areas where there was a committee strong enough to mobilize a significant number of people and was in a position to raise a significant amount of money.[18] A figure of $2,000.00 was set as a goal of local committees to raise, and $40,000.00 was set as an international figure to shoot for.[19]

Though it is difficult to make a determination regarding the alignment of political tendencies on the decision to decentralize the focus of ALD '73 at the D.C. meeting, it is important for us to examine the consequences of the decision itself upon that alignment of tendencies.

These two decisions: 1) to create the ALD sub-committees at the local level, and 2) to have local demonstrations or to decentralize proved to be of critical importance in the further development of the organization. These developments did not occur without sharp and meaningful internal struggle. They were two inter-dependent decisions that set into motion a series of internal dynamics that resulted in the emergence of a strata of dormant bureaucrats at the local level. That had to happen because the only people that were doing organizational work were ALD sub-committee members. In fact, ALD was the only adopted program around which concrete work could and was being done at that level. The organization was trying to get closer to the masses, yet remnants of the old elitist organization remained a problem that was addressed by inviting only committed activists to the initial meeting in Greensboro. The contradiction between the bureaucrats of the ALSC and the activist of the ALD became sharper and sharper as the day of the large mobilization approached.

The local bureaucracy was made up of, for the most part, Petit-bourgeois Nationalist who have, over the years, demonstrated a cultural and idealistic commitment to Africa. Because of their

emphasis on continental struggle and their de-emphasis on revolutionary initiatives on the part of our people here, in the west, they tended to be more dogmatic and were not as effective in their attempts at organizing. Many of them were repeatedly trying to mobilize Africans here by urging an idealistic and cultural commitment to Africa outside of the establishment of concrete links with the conditions of life for Africans here and those who are still on the continent. The simple fact is that the activists that made this connection proved to be more effective ALD organizers. As the rich practice of ALD began to affect the political outlook of those engaged in the actual work, again and again the tactical decisions that had to be made revealed the relatively sharp ideological differences that lay beneath them. Upon analysis these cleavages loomed large indeed.

An example of this is the difference of opinion that arose within the Detroit committee over the line of march that the demonstration would take as well as over selection of a site for the rally.[20] There was agreement on the site of the rally after a minimal exchange. It would be within the Black community. There was, however a major difference over the route the march would take.

> ...the discussion revolved around two (2) questions: 1) should the march move through a relatively populous area of our community in the most direct manner (i.e. the easiest to follow) with the intention of directly affecting the largest number of people on the street at the time of the march? Or 2) should we consciously attempt to move the march past sites which held some special historical significance in the struggle of our people in the U.S.?[21]

Restating this question which is one that arose within every committee where this issue was democratically decided; should the march go past the Black business sector of the community or should it dramatize points of local significance that point up the involvement of the local people in the world-wide African People's struggle? The basis of this difference is clearly ideological. The latter was the Revolutionary Nationalists' position which prevailed within the Detroit

committee.

In many areas where a similar decision was made by local committees there were three alternatives presented, reflecting the three political tendencies at play. Not only was there the choice of marching in the main business district of the Black community or having a "parade" thing there as the Petit-bourgeois Nationalists were advocating, and the choice of a massive march connecting local points of significance to the Black struggle in the U.S. and in particular to the struggle of Black people within that area as the Revolutionary Nationalists advocated; but there was the additional choice of not having the march within the Black community at all and choosing to go through the downtown business section instead and hold the demonstration in front of the local office building that houses the most local branch offices of the multi-national corporations, as advocated by the Dogmatic Marxists-Black Nationalist Detractors.[22]

As long as such ideological differences could work themselves out within the context of concrete tactical decisions meaningful ideological struggle was taking place. However, after ALD '73, there were attempts by many local ALSC officials to dissolve ALD committees or in some other manner interfere with the democratic election of new ALSC leadership officials for the further formulation of programmatic efforts of the local people.

A lot of energy had been set into motion within ALD local sub-committees. Ideological views had become crystallized which were now ready to exert their weight in democratically determining the direction, not only of local organizations, but the national, and international organization as well. This ideological struggle made unnecessarily sharp by this structural contradiction between ALSC and ALD ripped a few local committees apart.[23] It should be pointed out that the activists within ALD were not in all cases the progressive grouping within that inter-relationship. The more important consideration does stand, however. There did exist two opposing mechanisms that exaggerated normal ideological struggle.

If the structural decision creating the ALD sub-committees had been reviewed in light of the decentralization decision, perhaps the ideological struggle could have taken place within the same working and

active formation instead of between two legitimate entitles one of which was active and the other unnecessary. On the positive side of this matter, it allowed the continuation of the process of enabling the more active cadre to rise to become leadership officials which was begun by not inviting the movement celebrities to the founding meeting in July of 1972.

Another important tactical decision made by the ALSC in its preparations for ALD '73 centered directly on the national/class question. It is considered separately from the other two decisions because there is no apparent structural problem involved within an analysis of the resolution of this issue. The decision was reached in the February 10, 1973 meeting in Chicago after some considerable debate. In reaching this decision the following occurred:

> ...discussion ensued around the question of inviting other people of color to participate in the demonstration to show their solidarity with the African liberation movements and their stand against imperialism. A vote was taken with eleven state representatives opposing the suggestion and seventeen in support. Therefore, it was agreed upon that local and state committees were to extend invitations to non-white organizations (who would or have taken similar stands against imperialism) to participate in the demonstration under the guidelines devised by the support committee.[24]

The official minutes of that meeting go on to hastily point out that:

> ...this decision will not change or alter the character of the African Liberation Support Committee. The committee will remain all Black and the organizing efforts for local demonstrations will focus on the Black community. The other organizations invited to participate will organize their own communities.[25]

The Dogmatic Marxist-Nationalist Detractor tendency sought to invite participation in the demonstration and to have speakers on the platform at ALD rallies who were representatives of "other peoples of color." the Petit-Bourgeois Nationalists wanted only Blacks , and

did not want to issue invitations to other peoples of color to either participate in the demonstration or speak at the rallies. The Revolutionary Nationalists position was to invite other peoples of color to the demonstration but not to speak at the rallies. The three political tendencies struggled giving a little here and taking a little there until it was satisfactorily resolved.

Those were the principal tactical decisions made by ALSC in preparation for ALD '73 along with a brief analysis of the relationship of the National/class question to them.

IV. Policy and Ideological Development

At a meeting of the National Committee held in Greensboro on April 28 and 29 of 1973, just prior to ALD '73, a major policy decision was made. It was at this meeting that the manner in which the projected $40,000.00 to be raised would be distributed to the armed liberation organizations.[26] It is a most important decision to evaluate and the subtle struggle and variations within and between the three major political tendencies was something to behold as it unfolded within the context of the meeting.

The Petit-bourgeois Nationalists were pushing for either giving the funds to the OAU or the governments of Tanzania and /or Guinea-Conakry for distribution to the organization of their choice. The Revolutionary Nationalists and to some extent the Dogmatic Marxists were opposed to this. In a position paper the Michigan ALSC articulated this position directly:

> "...are we going to give funds to the OAU, a historic relic which has attached itself to the under-side of the sinking ship of western imperialism? Or are we going to set criteria for our own judgements, make them and accept the verdict of history.... our unified and unanimous position is no money to OAU."? [27]

With the acceptance of this position which was the majority view at the meeting, the ALSC was, in effect, taking an increasing strong anti-neo-colonialist posture within its policy. After funds for the OAU was defeated on the floor, the Petit-bourgeois Nationalists united with the

Revolutionary Nationalists when it was time to decide how the funds were to be allocated within the Angolan struggle. Both tendencies supported UNITA as opposed to the MPLA which the dogmatic Marxists, among others were agreed upon. Now, there are several considerations that are important here. The first is that the OAU does not support or recognizes UNITA, (it seems odd that some of the same Petit-Bourgeois Nationalists who were willing to give money to the OAU were quite willing to give money now to UNITA only, in Angola, when faced with a choice between it and the MPLA) but it was regarded as "Blacker" or more nationalistic than the MPLA. The second is that the committee was about to make an independent decision reflective of its own national/class analysis following up on the decision already made not to give any money to the OAU was defined as the neo-colonial instrument of imperialism. And the third consideration is; by supporting UNITA, ALSC will be giving international credibility to it, and will be forcing organizations like the OAU to deal with its existence. ALSC policy was coming of age and the weight of such independent policy will surely be felt.

It was decided to give supportive funds only to UNITA in Angola. The final decision was as follows:

> "...the National African Liberation Support Committee in Greensboro, North Carolina on April 28, 1973 voted to give support to the following liberation groups: PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands; FRELIMO in Mozambique; UNITA in Angola; and joint command of ZANU-ZAPU in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). These group will be supported out of the money raised during the United African Appeal effort during the month of May.
>
> The National African Liberation Support Committee will divide equally 80% of the money collected between the four groups. The other 20% of the money will be set aside for additional funding in 1973 of groups based on the recommendations of a special sub-committee appointed at the meeting. This sub-committee will make recommendations to the National African Liberation Support Committee when it has compiled its investigation."[28]

No organizations were given monies in either Azania or Namibia because, of the low level of organized struggle being waged within these areas. However, they were to be considered for the 20% "set aside funds."[29]

This policy decision contained within it three essential elements; 1) No monies to the OAU 2) An independent decision on existing liberation struggles and 3) Provisions for an investigatory mechanism set up to register the position of a sector of the African population on this side of the Atlantic upon the world body politic in this regard. A meaningful decision with significant consequences indeed.

V. The Ideological Struggle at Frogmore and Beyond

After the ALD '73 demonstration which was able to mobilize some 80,000 Black people[30] a call was sent out to convene a meeting in order to re-fashion the policy and to make a determination as to the future direction of the organizational form. The meeting was held in Frogmore, South Carolina on June 28, 29, 30, and July 1. After an assessment of the May 27th mobilization was made, all attention at the meeting was turned toward the ideological struggle from which would emerge a new policy statement. There was one preliminary paper mailed out (from Nashville) before the meeting, with three other papers in circulation at the meeting itself. One from the Bay area, Greensboro, and New Haven. The Nashville and New Haven documents were voluntarily withdrawn[31] and it was agreed that the Greensboro one, which presented an essentially Revolutionary nationalists analysis, would best serve as the primary working paper for the meeting. The withdrawal of the Nashville and the New Haven papers represented the Dogmatic Marxists Detractors uniting behind the Revolutionary Nationalists support of the Greensboro document which ultimately became the new *Statement of Principles* of the ALSC with a few minor alterations.[32]

The Petit-Bourgeois Nationalists began work to attack several sections of the working document, because; 1) it de-emphasizes Africa and talks about the U.S. and the Western Hemisphere too much in the

section called *"Western Hemisphere,"* 2) of its insistence upon *"merging the Black liberation movement with the process of world Revolution"*[33] in the section on *"Practice"* to the detriment, it is thought by those of this tendency, of our own people, 3) It urges the Black workers to take class leadership of the Black movement in the section called *"Focus for Mobilization"* and again in the *"Summary"* section of the document. This type of reasoning, it was argued, serves to divide the Black community. 4) It uses words with a "Marxist" connotation, i.e. "monopoly capitalism" and "imperialism" which our people cannot understand and are the carriers of foreign and alien values. And finally, 5) it does not adequately portray the importance of culture and racism in the section titled *"Western Hemisphere."*[34]

In general, the document was not regarded as "Black" enough for the Petit-bourgeois Nationalists. Much discussion took place around these issues which resulted in only one substantive change which occurred in the section headed *"Western Hemisphere"* regarding the definition of and the elaboration on the concept of "cultural aggression."

Instead of attempting to analyze what was said during this generalized debate between the Dogmatic Marxists and the Revolutionary Nationalists on the one hand, and the Petit-bourgeois Nationalists on the other; it would, perhaps, be more revealing if we focused upon what was not said. For example, in the discussion about the divisive nature of highlighting classes in the Black community, the thing at issue was not the existence of classes but rather whether or not these class divisions should be pointed up. Both sides, therefore, affirmed the existence of class formations within the Black community something which was at issue among activist as recently as four years ago. More dramatically, all during the often heated discussion, no mention was made of the repeated attacks on neo-colonialism that was a recurring theme in the document and the possible divisiveness that such attacks might create. What had begun as obtuse reference in the organization's first policy statement had grown through the decision on the OAU, independent funds UNITA, and other such policy decisions, to become a major policy element.

The International Steering Committee of a much larger ALSC was

not to convene after Frogmore until February 1, 2, and 3, 1974 in Greensboro again.[35] During this intervening time period the ideological struggle of these three tendencies within the organization continued at the executive committee level, within the new regional committee structures,[36] and at the local level. In this February 1974 International Steering Committee meeting the struggle over the *Statement of Principles* became relatively sharp. After much discussion it was reaffirmed unanimously. The Revolutionary Nationalist's document had again proved to be the embodiment of the dominant political tendency within the organization.

With all of the sound and fury of the struggle over the *Statement of Principles* at the gathering, a major programmatic decision was made almost unnoticed and in a matter of fact manner. It flowed logically from the policy statement and specifically from the numerous anti-neocolonialism clauses with which it is peppered. It was also the logical extension of the increased emphasis upon struggles in the Caribbean contained in the document. It was resolved that the International ALSC go on record as supporting the organizations which are struggling within the Caribbean against the brutal neo-colonial regimes that exist there. Of course, it goes without saying, that this could not be done unless there had been some meaningful struggle objectively going on in that area of the world.

The executive committee has followed up on this decision by programmatically calling for an International Week of Solidarity with anti-imperialist struggles in the Caribbean for the Spring of 1974, to be carried out primarily at the local level.[37] What does this mean for the development of ALSC? This decision takes the anti-neocolonial stand of the organization outside of the realm of policy and puts it into the realm of program. It implies further, that continental African Liberation is not the only aspect of the worldwide African People's struggle that can be addressed not only in policy, but can be dealt with as part of major programmatic propaganda thrust. Significantly, there was no opposition to this by the Petit-Bourgeois Nationalists. It would be totally outside the scope of possibility to interpret this to mean that the class/national implications of the organizational efforts of ALSC, specifically, and of the revolutionary African movement inside

North America, generally, are being further synthesized by elements extant within the Petit-Bourgeois Nationalists camp; as more unity forged within the crucible of ideological struggle drives the process forward.

VI. Structural Decisions at Frogmore and Beyond

To Frogmore came a few badly divided committee as a result of intensive ideological struggle compounded by a wrong structural decision that was made. Many ALD local sub-committee activists sent their own representatives which were different from local ALSC representatives from the same area. This was the case for Georgia and New York City, with the Bay Area having one representative. In the case of the Georgia committee it appears that the Petit-Bourgeois Nationalists clustered within the local ALSC structure with the Revolutionary Nationalists and Dogmatic Marxists contained within the local ALD sub-committee. With the New York committee, the case seemed to be just the reverse.[38] However, in the Bay Area committee, the situation was unclear concerning the effects of this structural problem upon the ideological struggle. What is clear though is that struggle did take place, was very sharp, and became unprincipled. Testimony to this involved a report that at one meeting of the committee there was force used in the form of dogs, clubs, and chains in an attempt at the unprincipled resolution of ideological and/or tactical differences.[39] Again, it is not clear which political tendency or tendencies were responsible for this.

The lesson here is, to repeat, that structural decisions have impacted ongoing ideological struggle within the organization, to the extent that they have provided legitimized formations from which one camp or another could launch their attacks, thus sharpening the existing ideological struggle.

VII. United Front Versus Pan-African Organization

There is something else that needs to be looked at with regard to the Frogmore meeting which is difficult to categorize. It is policy, to the extent that it involves positions taken within the policy statement. It is a structural consideration to the extent that it involves the form

of the organization. It may, nevertheless prove to be beneficial for our purposes if we examine the position of our three major political tendencies on the organizational character of the formation itself.

If we go back before Frogmore we can grasp some aspects of the development of the, then Chairman Owusu Sadaukai, an attempt was made to define the character of the organization. The document states:

> Because some people are in no other organization, they view ALSC as the principal "organization" to which they owe allegiance. They, therefore, see a need for strict guidelines, started ideology, etc...All things that should rightfully be a part of a one dimension organization. On the other hand, people who represent organizations see the committee as a committee, and therefore view their work with the committee as being important but not central to their total work. They are also already tied into an organization with an ideology, work habits, guidelines, etc...[40]

From this it is easy to see why Petit-Bourgeois Nationalists want ALSC to be an "organization" with a specific ideology which is "Pan-Africanist and Nationalist," since they emphasize continental liberation as a prerequisite to theliberation of the Africans in the west. The only program that such organizations have is African Liberation Support. That is their be all and end all. In their estimation, an organization is effective when it first proclaims itself Pan-Africanist and/or Nationalist and sets about the accomplishment of its primary task of convincing the Africans in the diaspora that they too are African. Since Black people are seen to have internalized white values, they need to be convinced of their "Blackness."[41]

Revolutionary Nationalists and to some extent Dogmatic Marxists organizations are engaged in programmatic efforts in North America and tend to be for a united front type effort in support of the African Liberation struggles. They attempt to demonstrate that a group is for Africa or for Pan-Africanism not by what they say, but by the historical consequences of their actions. People show their support for the continental African struggle by struggling here, they say. We cannot yet agree on how that can best be done, but many of us agree as Black

people that the liberation struggles must be supported so that is the basis from which we begin to forge principled unity among all of those who think that this should be done,[42] says the Revolutionary Nationalists.

Another dimension to this same question is addressed by Sadaukai:

> The question comes up, are we a Cadre Organization or mass based "organization?" It would seem that we are not attempting to develop highly sophisticated Cadres, but in fact, we are attempting to expand the various committees to include as many Black people as we can who are interested in the struggle of our people against racism and imperialism as they raise their ugly heads on the Continent of Africa.[43]

Now, it is difficult to distinguish between what Sadaukai means by a "cadre organization" or "a 'mass based' organization." what comes through, however, is that each one of our tendencies is beginning to look at the question of revolutionary organizational forms for whatever they see as their thrust; struggle here and/or for the "unity of all African peoples." it is natural and legitimate for this question to arise.

The Petit-Bourgeois Nationalists grouping seek to construct alternative "Pan-Africanist" and/or "Nationalist" organizational forms designed to get all the "right thinking" brothers and sisters together for an often ill-defined program based upon "unity without uniformity" of unprincipled unity.[44] They also toy with the concept of "a Black political Party" that is designed to do everything.[45]

On the other hand, we have the Dogmatic-Marxists calling for a "multi-national vanguard Party of the proletariat." some Revolutionary Nationalists are heard calling for a Black version of the Bolshevik Party.

What is most important in all of this is that within the ALSC the question of organizational form for continued struggle has become one of the pressing new questions that has grown from the short but rich history of struggle of the African Liberation Support movement. Such a vital question, as any question, can only be resolved as a result of continued evaluation of the new initiatives and imperatives created by the momentum of our people in struggle. Here is where all historically valid organizational forms must originate. ALSC is a

creature of our people's movement. As long as a form is viable and organic it will be an agent for the synthesis of burning questions confronting the social movement that give life to it. The ALSC is viable, organic, and serving that purpose.

SUMMARY

The African Liberation Support Committee was considered as its development has helped add some clarity to some of the vital questions that face our movement. Three major political tendencies were identified and their alignment on issues of policy, structure and tactics were evaluated with regard to their implications for the class/national controversy. The ideological struggle that exists between these tendencies was viewed as the principle motive force driving the development of the policy of the organization forward, creating new questions as the process continues.

Notes

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4. Alkalimat, Abdul Hakimu Ibn and Nelson Nelson, *Toward the Ideological Unity of the African Liberation Support Committee: A Response to Criticisms of the ALSC Statement of Principles Adopted at Frogmore, South Carolina June- July, 1974,* ALSC internal document, Greensboro, North Carolina, 1974, p. 1.

5. Kadalie, Modibo, *African Society in America and the Class Struggle,* unpublished paper, pp. 13-23.

6. SOBU NEWS service, "55,000 Demonstrate Support-ALD International Success", *The African World*, June 10, 1972, p. 1.

7. The African Liberation Support Committee, *African Liberation Support Committee Governing Principles*, Unpublished discussion document, 1972, p. 1.

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9. Sadaukai, Owusu, *"The History of the Development of the Statement of*

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10. Kadalie, *Meeting Notes; July 26, 1972.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. The African Liberation Support Committee, *Minutes of the African Liberation Support Committee Meeting on September 30, 1972,* Detroit, Michigan, Unpublished, 1972, p. 1.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.* pp. 2-4

17. The African Liberation Support Committee, *Minutes of the African Liberation Support Committee Meeting on February 10, 1973,* Chicago, Illinois, Unpublished, 1973.

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24. ALSC, *Minutes, February 19, 1973,* Chicago, p. 2.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

26. ALSC, *Minutes, April 28 and 29, 1973,* Greensboro, pp.1-5.

27. Detroit African Liberation Support Committee, *"Position Regarding The Organizations of African Unity,"* Unpublished, April, 1973, p. 4.

28. ALSC, *Minutes, April 28 and 29, 1973*, Greensboro, p. 4.

29. *Ibid.*

30. YOBU News Service, "ALD Success Reveals Growth in Black Political Understanding", *The African World,* June 16, 1973, Greensboro, North Carolina, pp. 1-2.

31. Sadaukai, *"The History of the Devlopment of the Statement of Principles Of the African Liberation Support Committee,"* p. 3.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

33. ALSC, *Statement of Principles*, p. 4.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

35. YOBU News Service, Summary, "Debate, Plans Mark ALSC Conference," *The African World*, March, 1974, Greensboro, North Carolina, pp. 1-2.

36. African Liberation Support Committee, *ALSC Southern Regional Conference, Minutes*, November 24, 1973, Nashville, Tennesssee,Unpublished, 1973, pp. 2-5.

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General Introduction to Chapters 7, 8, and 9

Some writers, in their assessment of the significance of the Sixth Pan-African Congress, have pointed to the fact that it did occur as the most fundamental aspect in making a judgement regarding its historical importance.[1] While it is true that nothing happens in the world of no consequence at all, there are many things that happen of little consequence. And one of the essential distinguishing characteristics between events of significant historical consequence and those of little or tangential importance is the dynamic position of an event within the flow of the logically unfolding historical process. Such that, if a single event can be placed centrally within the context of a vital, energetic, emerging, and developing social movement and is therefore part of the struggle of the times, it becomes an important event.

In the chapters which immediately follow (Chapters 7, 8, and 9) an attempt will be made to place the Sixth Pan-African Congress (Sixth-PAC) within the flow of events that are a manifestation of the historical currents that are in motion in the present period. We will begin in Chapter 7 with a general historical analysis of the previous Pan-African conferences and congresses in order to provide us with a broad background of Pan-Africanism as a social democratic formulation and the implications of its changing meaning. Also in Chapter 7, we will focus upon some of the contemporary(1976) political motion as a brief analysis is offered of the more recent events relative to a redefinition of the meaning of Pan-Africanism. As a part of this same chapter, we will also try to view this contemporary political motion from the vantage point of the ongoing international class struggle. Accordingly, some of the analysis by others in this regard will be mentioned and evaluated. We will also include a discussion concerning the various class forces that have developed and are now exerting their influence within the political struggle that is raging within the Pan-African world.

Chapter 8 is devoted to an assessment of the chronology of events leading directly up to the Sixth-PAC. Here we will go into the ideological struggle from some of the preliminary conferences, meetings, and gatherings that preceded the Dar-es-Salaam conclave. Several meetings that were held in North America will be evaluated in this connection.

An extensive treatment of these preliminary meetings and gatherings is included, even to the point of presenting complete recorded verbal exchanges between participants in several instances. This was not done so much because the participants in question were speaking for some large constituency but rather because they were speaking for themselves. Of course, to the extent that they were and had been active independently and within activist groups their formulations and postulates were part of a much larger ideological struggle. As a result the points of contention and debate flowed from and enriches a genuine ongoing social struggle that was and is part of the real world.

The material contained in this chapter, therefore, represents perhaps the central core of this effort. Even so, a following Chapter 9 demonstrates to us that the forces of progress prevailed despite the many manipulations of the reaction. Chapter 9 is by no means anti-climatic. It is concerned with some of the more important issues which were raised at the Congress itself as well as the manner in which they were resolved. It furthermore, contains a fairly detailed treatment of the impact of the African Liberation Movements upon the Congress. In fact, this is one of the fundamental relationships that is emphasized and developed throughout all of these chapters(7, 8, and 9). This was to be one of the most central concerns of the Sixth Pan- African Congress. Beyond that an analysis of this basic relationship leads us to what is, perhaps, one of the most essential propositions upon which most of the implications concerning the significance of the Sixth-PAC itself rests. It will, therefore, be repeatedly asserted and amplified upon that it is the African liberation movements along with the activities of other progressives in the world today that are continuously redefining Pan-Africanism through the rich lessons gained from their concrete

struggles.

At this point the reader should be forewarned of a difficult transition from Chapter 8 to Chapter 9. The problem arises from a shift of emphasis compounded by an attempt to add more meaningful descriptive information. Throughout Chapter 8 the preparatory meetings and gatherings taking place primarily in North America are emphasized. In Chapter 9 a more generalized discussion of the broad issues before the Congress itself is undertaken.

With regard to the second problem in the transition from Chapter 8 to Chapter 9, it became necessary to specifically define with greater precision the nature of the African ruling classes belonging to the capitalist periphery. This discussion should have logically been included in its most completed form in Chapter 7. It was attempted there, but remained inadequate and incomplete. It became clear that to try to adequately render the discussion that was undertaken in Chapter 8 regarding the struggle over issues within the Congress proper, it was imperative that a more fully developed and precise definition of the nature of the peripheral African ruling classes had to be offered. In the beginning of Chapter 9 such a discussion takes place and such a definition is advanced.

There are several inter-related recurring themes which hold the presentation of the descriptive information contained within these chapters concerning the Sixth-PAC together. Two of these themes are the pillars upon which most of the analytical approach rest. The class analysis is the major descriptive technique that is being attempted here. Its application to the study of human social development and related phenomena as outlined by Friedrich Engels[2] and Karl Marx,[3] is serving increasing numbers of radical social scientists throughout the world. The class analysis is not only a technique, but it is reflective of a point of view, as all techniques are reflective of the points of view from which they originate.

The other thematic pillar that supports the analytical approach to this effort concerns the regional involvement of the author in the work of preparing for the Congress. This too has directly affected the general orientation as well as the emphasis placed upon certain of the content.

This work, therefore, is written from the geo-political regional vantage point of metropolitan North America. The orientation and approach to the content is undoubtedly circumscribed by this bias.

These two analytical themes are mentioned in order to give the reader more insight into the general avenue of approach to the task, no more, no less.

CHAPTER 7

PAN-AFRICANISM: A GENERAL ANALYTICAL HISTORY

I. The Origins of Pan-Africanism

The Pan-African movement, like any other social movement that belongs to this epoch, is rooted within the emerging economic base upon which the capitalist mode of production rests. It is a manifestation of the international character of capitalism.

Often times analysts have fallen into the pit of erroneously viewing historical occurrences as the making of individual gifted men or women and are therefore, guilty of giving credit for the existence and dynamism contained within such a movement to them. Generally, the Pan-African movement is looked upon as something that originated within the brain of W. E. B. Dubois, and/or Henry Sylvester Williams. This unfortunately idealistic view is responsible for much of the lack of real analysis of this movement.[4]

Surely men and women of great vision emerge and stand out in certain periods in human history. Williams and Dubois were two such men. But their vision arises from their class vantage point within a social movement of which it is a part. Their creativity flows from the fact that they are also creatures of valid social movements that have advanced human social development.

C. L. R. James in his *History of Pan-African Revolt*[5] presents us with an excellent descriptive documentary of mass upheaval within the Pan-African world from the time of the Haitian Revolution up through the contemporary period.(1976) His emphasis is rightly placed not upon the leaders, but upon the labouring masses as they struggled in resistance to imperialist penetration and as they are continuing to struggle against international capitalism today. What James' work does not do is dissect the class dimensions of the Pan-African mass

movement and for that reason it remains somewhat inadequate for our purposes.

The task of analysing the Pan-African mass movement, which is an international movement, is complicated by the fact that as the underdeveloped world in general became integrated into the international capitalist system, new social structures began to take shape, and new social strata began to come into being. The task of analysis is more simple for those who view the underdeveloped world and Africa in particular as being in an earlier stage of its development than the developed world. To them the social classes and institutions within the capitalist periphery are merely immature metropolitan classes and institutions. By implication, of course, all that is required is some waiting and some maternalistic nurturing and another developed nation will come into being. Unfortunately, valid historical analysis is not that simplistic.

The work of V. I. Lenin[6] stands out as a milestone, a major contribution to our thinking on the political implication of the international spread of the capitalist system. His theory of imperialism has at all levels concerned itself with a concrete analysis of the consequences of the integration of the peripheral world into this single system of exploitation. He has measured its impact upon the working class movement within the metropolis and he has looked at its transformational effects and consequences in the underdeveloped world.

The fact is that Africa, the Caribbean, and the rest of the Pan-African world along with the remainder of the underdeveloped and developed world integrated into a single international capitalist world wide system. And the process whereby this took place itself proceeded, in a very specific manner, and resulted in some very specific consequences. Without a doubt the overall character of the social formations that arose within the epi-centers as well as within the periphery were forms that have their origins within and reinforced the production relations that are part of the international capitalist mode of production.

Capitalism, a system of exploitation that has been at the same time national and international from its mercantile infancy, is the same

system and a different system than what it was at the close of the nineteenth century. It is the same because its basic defining social relations have remained intact. It is different because its quantitative productive capacity has undeniably increased. That is to say, advances in the efficiency of the general forces of production have been made yielding greater surpluses. This has resulted in massive political strife with equally massive historical consequences within the parameters of the international system itself. It might be argued by some that this political movement has taken some of the more progressive nations beyond the parameters of the international capitalist system. While it is true that there is evidence that there has emerged within some regions of the world social relations that mark the ascendency of a new epoch, the fact remains that even "socialist" nations interact through the world market with the international capitalist system. Samir Amin is emphatic in this regard:

> On this plane we have no grounds for considering trade between Russia and Eastern Europe, on the one hand, and the rest of the world, on the other, as being different in practice from the trading activities of the advanced Western countries. *There are not two world markets, one capitalist and the other socialist, but only one, the capitalist world market, in which Eastern Europe marginally participates.*[7] (emphasis added)

Looking at social movements within the developed countries since the rise of capitalism it is very easy to see that the overall thrust has been for more social democracy on the part of one section of the labouring population or another. It might take the form of a drive for social democracy for white male labour as in the many trade union brotherhoods of Europe and North America. It might take the form of the various Women's movements. It might take the form of a struggle for democratic rights on the part of a specific national minority or a significant immigrant section of the population.

It is in this context that the concept of Pan-Africanism must be placed . It, in a real sense, represents the confluence of two threads of the same international reform social democratic movement. One thread emanated from the European reform labour movement and

the other from the client stratum that international capitalism had created as a necessary part of its superstructure in a process of initiating and continuing the underdevelopment of its periphery so that its center could continue to thrive and prosper.

i. Trade Unionism and Pan-Africanism

By 1890 the metropolitan trade unions had won or were winning meaningful concessions from the ruling bourgeoisies of their respective nation states. These reluctantly granted concessions served to democratize and generally increase the quality of life within those societies for the working classes as well as all of the other layers. Of course, these were the same societies that had been transformed from backward feudal fiefdoms to a collectivity of massive modern industrialized nation states as their ascendant bourgeoisies reaped monstrous surpluses from the Atlantic slave trade itself and through the exchange of the products of slave plantation labour on an emerging world market. These were also the same societies whose representatives sat down at the Berlin Conference of 1885 to carve up the African continent in order to more effectively and in a more harmonious fashion continue their respective exploitative designs.

The Second International which was formed in 1889 as part of the Centennial Celebration of the French Bourgeois Revolution of 1789 marked the organized affirmation of the labour reform movement that swept Europe at the turn of the century. By the time that it convened in London in 1896, the Second International adopted rules which resulted in the expulsion of organizations and delegates who were not in agreement with parliamentary reform as their major mode of struggle for economistic demands and social democratic rights. At this Congress it was quite evident that the Social Democratic parties and the trade unionists had achieved complete control of the organization as a whole. From this moment forward active trade union parliamentary reformism became the "be all" and "end all" of the decisive tendencies within the European labour movement. Its class collaborationism was laid bare for all to see as it capitulated to one European bourgeoisie or another as the First Imperialist World War broke out.

ii. Pan-Africanism and Reform Mass Movements in the Colonies

So we see the dialectic working itself out. Within the metropolis the bourgeoisie was being forced to show its liberal face while in the periphery it was becoming increasingly barbaric. In the midst of this contradiction the Black seeds of what has become known as the Pan-African Movement were sown.

The reason that the first Pan-African Conference was called by Henry SylvesterWilliams in 1900 is elucidated by George Padmore's discussion of the brutality of the capitalists as they continued their penetration into an Africa exhausted and prostrate from centuries of slave trading:

> The old Bantu nations in South Africa were faced with racial conflict. The ancestral lands of these Africans were being threatened by Boers and Britons. The South African Charter Company of Cecil Rhodes was extending its tentacles into Central Africa. Even in West Africa, the Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir William Maxwell, was attempting to turn Fanti tribal lands into Crown property.[8]

Padmore continues as he states clearly what the Conference was for and who it was designed to reach. He puts it in the following way:

> To combat the aggressive policies of British imperialists, Mr. Sylvester-Williams took the initiative in convening a Pan-African conference in London in 1900, as a forum of protest against the aggression of white colonizers and, at the same time, to make an appeal to the missionary and abolitionist traditions of the British people to protect the Africans from the depredations of the Empire builders.[9]

This gathering of what were essentially colonial intellectuals living within the metropolis was the first conference of its type and marked the beginning of a series of "conferences" that would be taking place

up to and after the Second Imperialist World War. These meetings are now regarded as the Pan-African Congresses. Although there was a series of early conferences, the "First Pan-African Congress" is generally regarded as being the 1919 Paris Conference organized by W. E. B. DuBois.

The 1890 London Conference held under the auspices of Henry Sylvester-Williams is considered by most writers as being the beginning of the organized Pan-African lobbying effort of Black intellectuals in the metropolitan societies of Europe and North America. This conference as well as the five Pan-African Congresses sponsored by DuBois (1919, Paris; 1921, London; 1923, London and Lisbon; 1927, New York; 1945, Manchester) represents one of the manifestations of a progressive movement that has continued and is continuing to mature and develop as it is further enriched by the practical experiences of the working masses in struggle.

Perhaps the most important thing to be emphasized here is that these gatherings took place within the historical context of developing and continuing mass movements and they were organically linked with them. For example, the 1909 Conference took place within the midst and was a part of the Social Democratic struggle of metropolitan workers and at the same time was organically linked with and was a part of the struggle of the African masses against imperialist penetration. It appealed to the liberal democratic sector of the metropolitan ruling class in the same spirit of reform as the labor movement so that while the imperialists plundered Africa, they would not "overlook the interests and welfare of the native races."[10]

In an account of the political life of Henry Sylvester Williams, Clarence Contee, a contemporary writer has stated the following regarding the political views of the members of the British based African Association, the convening group of the 1900 Conference:

> The members of the African Association were not revolutionary; they were not advocating the overthrow of the British Empire; they were proud to be members of the British family of subjects. But they were concerned that they, like other Englishmen, receive their rights as Englishmen. They were thus reformers and radicals in their own times.[11]

The social democratic character of the conference seems, therefore to be all the more apparent.

The 1919, 1921, 1923 and the 1927 conference known as the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Pan-African Congresses respectively, aside from being held during the same general historical period, continued to be "forums of protest" and continued to direct their humanitarian appeals to the liberal sector of the European bourgeoisies.

II. Economic Change Within International Capitalism and The Pan-African Mass Movement

At the level of the economic base of the international capitalist system this period corresponds to a time when great changes were beginning to take place. As a result of the First Imperialist War, massive amounts of labor in the periphery was being socialized in the agricultural plantations, in the mineral mines, as well as in other capitalist institutions that were coming into being. The brutality of the oppression that of necessity reinforced this world wide system of exploitation is a matter of historical record.

The rise of Fascism in metropolitan Europe and Asia brought about by the international crisis of capitalism and the response of the social democratic movement as well as the Pan-African Movement to it, further underscores the social democratic nature of the Pan-African Movement of that period. The fact that no Pan-African Congresses occurred during the period from 1927-1944 is quite revealing.

At this point perhaps, it would be more insightful to examine this period (from 1927-1944) and its relevance to the Pan-African Movement than to go into a detailed analysis of the previous Congresses. This line of approach would seen to be more productive and consistent with what we are trying to achieve here, especially since we have already taken the position that the direction and content of the first four Congresses was essentially the same with minor variation.

During this period where no Pan-African Congresses occurred, the international social democratic movement under the leadership of the bourgeois democracies of the world were preoccupied with

protecting the gains of their international movement. Gains which were made possible because of the fascist and undemocratic oppressive policies that were being practised within the periphery in order to keep the massive surpluses flowing into the nation states of the capitalist epi-centers.

The Asian producing masses were concretely brought into this struggle as militaristic Japan slashed across that continent. The Pan-African masses were brought concretely into the same international struggle, to a more limited extent, when Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935. The major and crucial difference between conflicts taking place on these two different peripheral continents was that in most of Asia the anti-fascist struggle was a concrete struggle against an invading fascist imperialist power and therefore coincided with national liberation struggle supported by well developed social democratic movements. In the case of Africa and certain other regions of the capitalist periphery the struggle was not that clear. The fascist imperialist power in their midst was not the same fascist imperialist powers which the European liberals and social democrats were struggling against. Therefore, to the extent that a genuine struggle for democratic rights and national independence took place in those regions it was in opposition to the metropolitan social democratic movement of which the civil rights thrust of the American Black population was also a part.

Faced with this dilemma these metropolitan Pan-African left social democrats, instead of continuing their humanitarian appeals to the democratic sector of the various metropolitan bourgeoisies - who were themselves forced to resort to the imposition of all manner of undemocratic restrictions upon their own working classes- opted to come to the aid of metropolitan social democracy. In so doing they ended up supporting certain bourgeois states which oppressed the workers at home.

After the Second Imperialist War, the anti-imperialist movement had grown so powerful in Asia during the period of the struggle against Japanese militaristic occupation that it transformed many of these movements into full blown anti-imperialist drives for socialism. These movements had and are continuing to have tremendous consequences upon the alignment of metropolitan democratic forces. In this context

the Fifth Pan-African Congress convened in Manchester in 1945 is of great importance. But before we begin an examination of the Fifth Congress itself, it is necessary to say a few words about certain of the changes that had and were taking place within the economic base of the international capitalist system.

Seeded within the imperatives of the Second Imperialist War are the contemporary forms that the systematic underdevelopment of the present day capitalist periphery are now taking. The rise of strategic mineral mining sectors within certain regions, and the ascendency of the multinational corporation as an institutional form through which capital flows began to be channelled are two highly visible phenomena. These and other obvious changes are taking place within the general overall tendency of international capital to become concentrated into fewer and fewer hands. And on the other side of the same international process, we find the tendency of capitalism to alienate the producing people of the world from any means of production of their own. Thus imperialist alienation of peasant land is a real question. In addition the corollary tendency of capitalism to centralize massive quantities of capital in certain geographical localities was also accelerated during and after the Second Imperialist War. This tendency is directly related to the phenomenal growth and genuine development of the nation states at the capitalist epi-center of the world wide capitalist system.

The United States of North America emerged from the war with its industry intact and expanding by leaps and bounds to become the top metropolis. This is important because it set about integrating the economies of the capitalist world under its domination which is revealed at the level of the international institutional superstructure by the creation of the United Nations, NATO, SEATO, and a whole host of other such formation under its auspices. This necessarily had to occur since financial, commercial, and industrial firms based in the United States were becoming successful in penetrating and subordinating the weakened Western European and Japanese economies.

III. Underdevelopment and the Emergence of the African Intelligentsia

Within the peripheral international capitalist system, foreign dominated, unevenly productive, and "disarticulated" local economies were continuing the process of objective underdevelopment[12] while at the same time creating the illusion of development. This illusion of development is important to us because it was reinforced at the ideological level by the politico-economic theory that guided much of the thinking of the metropolitan social democratic movement. These formulations view the course of social development and the nature social movements occurring within the periphery a certain way. These ideological formulations were being accepted and promulgated by the new client classes that were emerging within the underdeveloped world as a result of alterations within the class configuration consequent to the introduction of capital intensive mineral clusters and their supportive economic sectors. This was, of course part of the international specialization process which was regarded as desirable for continued world progress. The left wing of these new client classes served to lead the social democratic reform movements within those regions.

The ideological formulation upon which this type of thinking rests, assumes that underdeveloped societies are developing independently of the developed societies at the capitalist epi-centers. It follows then that underdeveloped societies are simply societies that have not progressed to the point where they are like the developed European ones. It was, therefore, further assumed that the bourgeois economic principle of laissez-faire was operative within the colonial world. It is the false doctrine to which the international social democratic movement has fallen prey. It is false. It is racist. Samir Amin is enlightening on this critical conceptual point:

> There is, in fact, not a juxtaposition of two societies, for the underdeveloped economy is a piece of a single machine, the capitalist world economy. It occupies a particular place in this worldwide system, and fulfills definite functions in it.[13]

Unfortunately the mistaken notion of the independent development of societies within the periphery as distinctive from the societies at the center was accepted and an attempt was made to apply this formulation and the ones that flowed from it. It was in this way that the early Pan-African social democrats were left with the tactical question of "when will the colonials be ready for independence?" When will they have "developed" sufficiently so that they can handle the responsibilities of freedom and independence? So up until 1945, it was a matter of trying to convince the colonial powers or public opinion within certain metropolitan nation states that a certain colony was indeed ready.

The 1945 Manchester Congress was to become an historical affirmation that a turning point had been reached within the Pan-African movement. The Western European social democratic movement fresh from a victory over German, Japanese and Italian fascism, that had made the world safe for democracy scored a Labor Party victory in the British elections in July of 1945. In an attempt to increase production and to minimize disruptive conflict in the war related raw material extraction enterprises operating within the colonies between foreign capital and disgruntled colonial laborers, many colonial governments legalized the organization of trade unions.[14] This was done at the urging of metropolitan trade unionists who made up a substantial section of the social democrats in direct response to the labor unrest of the 1930's in many of the colonies.

Just prior to and during the war Trade Unions and/or some form of meaningful organized trade union activity had come about in British Guiana, Barbados, Gambia, the Gold Coast, Jamaica, Nigeria, Trinidad, and other regions of the colonial world. Hardly a corner of the periphery went untouched by some form of spontaneous anti-imperialist upheaval during this period. Therefore, the calling together of representatives of these and other trade union movements into some kind of international body was a logical outgrowth of this organizational activity. That is exactly what happened when, at the invitation of British labour, the World Federation of Trade Unions was founded at a conference in Manchester, England in the heart of that countries sprawling industrial complex in February of 1945.

This trade union activity as it took place within the periphery coincided with other forms of struggle for democratic rights and for national independence. Trade unions were central to this drive by workers concentrated in the most advance sectors of the economies, but a broader movement was emerging. At the international level, the Fifth Pan-African Congress occurring on the heels of the first conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions in the same British industrial city, Manchester, in October of 1945 called together a much broader international forum.

With regard to the political motion of which the Fifth-PAC was a part, two key features stand out. In the first place, the forum occurred as a result of social democratic trade union activity in the capitalist periphery. And in the second place, as a result of increased democratic activity on the part of the unskilled, Blacks, Minorities, and Women as such within the metropolis. But the overriding point to be emphasized here is that it occurred in the midst and was part of a generalized struggle for democratic rights on the parts of the working masses to which such rights had never been extended or had at one time been extended and then taken away as in the case of the Black males in America.

At the 1945 Congress there was sharp debate and principled agreement. By then, most of the delegates were in agreement that the time for democratic rights for African peoples on the continent and in the diaspora had come. There was, however, disagreement on what form it would take and on how it should best be achieved. The latter is, of course, a tactical consideration which would logically flow from having a certain position on the question of the form that the struggle for democratic rights would take. Generally, delegates from the metropolis along with a right wing force from the colonies laboring under the illusion that the new ruling Labor party would institute certain reforms that would, in effect, begin the process whereby metropolitan governments would grant democratic rights to its colonial subjects.[15] This position implied no structural changes within the colonial system itself. In fact, it implied that this could occur within the same colonial framework. This continued to lead those with this point of view to the tactic of endless appeal to the colonial powers themselves.

On the other hand, there were the "young Turks" under the inspired leadership of Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast who saw the question much more clearly. Their position was that as long as the colonial structure remained intact, then there could be no social democracy in the underdeveloped world. They accordingly, pushed for national independence and unity as a necessary part of the social democratic drive in those regions. This represented a critical break with the European social democratic movement. The break, though decisive, was not a thorough-going ideological severance. They accepted the notion that the colonies were essentially primitive independently developing societies that required the benevolence of the developed world in order to develop themselves. They essentially believed that the colonies had received sufficient misguidance and misdirection and were ready to continue their independent development in a truly independent way. Their vision was to establish nation states very much like those of Europe and North America "with liberty and justice for all." Accordingly, they were prepared to abandon the tactic of appeal to the good will of the metropolitan powers and to place their hopes of freedom in the continued mobilization of the laboring masses in the colonials. This was shown to be the prevailing tendency at the Congress. Vincent Bakeptu Thompson, a descriptive Pan-African historian, has stated this point upon which many progressive writers agree in this manner:

> In pinning their faith to political action as the necessary measure for combatting imperialism and accomplishing the social, economic and political emancipation of Africa, the Congress participants forged the instruments for 'Positive Action' which were mentioned as strikes and boycotts in order to impress their claims on the colonial powers.[16]

Padmore has, with the greater clarity and definitiveness that comes from an activist made the same point as he has written, adding the dimension of continuity, the following:

> . . . the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary

> prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation. The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the Colonies to organize effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. Your weapons - the strikes and boycott - are invincible.[17]

The Congress closed with a solemn appeal to the victims of colonial oppression in a "Declaration to the Colonial People' which, in an unmistakable social democratic tone, states in part that:

> We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities, by fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained.[18]

The document emphatically states that mass action is necessary as it draws to a conclusion:

> Today there is only one road to effective action - the organization of the masses. And in the organization the educated colonials must join. Colonial and subject peoples of the world, unite.[19]

So the international forum that was the Fifth Pan-African Congress held as part of the social democratic mass movement within both the capitalist epi-centers and periphery came to a close.
It was a forum that unfolded amid an ongoing struggle between political forces in the world and within the Pan-African world. The conference saw George Padmore, a veteran of the Communist International - the most advanced international formation that European social democracy had thrown up - himself along with the left wing of the Pan-African social democrats emerge to exert direct and critical influence during the course of the proceedings. They forthrightly affirmed that the workers and farmers of the colonies as a class would bring social democracy to the capitalist periphery. They were

waging a struggle against the elite of the right and those who thought that social democracy could come within the then existent colonial structures. These elements represented the apologist of the far right. That struggle took place within the Congress and within other such situations at the ideological level precisely because that gathering contained within it representatives of the forces and tendencies locked in a continuing struggle that was defining a shifting world polity. It is this single fact that is the primary determiner of its historical validity.

IV. The Significance of the Sixth Pan-African Congress

Here we will be concerned with an evaluation of the significance of the Sixth Pan-African Congress in the light of the present(1976) movement of events. We will approach our assessment of the Congress by describing the international class forces operative within the contemporary Pan-African world.

The Sixth-PAC was an international forum that was held for eight and a half days in June of 1974 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. Like the other Pan-African Congresses, it was primarily a forum. Unlike the others it was convened within the capitalist periphery. Since the Fifth-PAC in 1945, much has happened within the Pan-African world and the world in general. There has been significant social upheaval within both the developed and the underdeveloped regions of the globe. Within the Pan-African world, a wave of "constitutional" independence has altered the classical colonial structures and has left neo-colonial regimes throughout continental Africa and the Caribbean along with the smattering of Black elected national and local officials in metropolitan North America and to a limited extent in Western Europe. This has occurred on the heels of popular mass anti-imperialist revolts on the African continent, in the Caribbean and popular anti-monopoly capitalist revolt in the urban ghettoes of North America and Western Europe. These revolts have reached their most advanced form in the continuous organized revolutionary armed insurrections that were and are the African Liberation Movements. These insurgent movements have the support of democratic progressives on both sides of the Atlantic. We can now bear witness to the significant breakthroughs that have been registered particularly in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and

now Angola. These movements along with the Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, Cambodian, Laotian, and Cuban revolutionary upsurges have called for a re-evaluation of the political relationships in the world.
Sekou Toure, in his recorded message to the general session of the Sixth-PAC put it in this way:

> Today peoples have set in motion a Revolutionary hurricane. And it is in the heart of this whirlwind that the Sixth Pan-African Congress is being held.[20]

Structurally, the planet's polity has undergone sweeping changes resulting primarily in conspicuous mass upheaval within the capitalist periphery. What the spontaneous mass worker and peasant uprisings and the more organized trade union activity was to the Fifth Pan-African Congress, the formation of neo-colonial regimes and more directly the African Liberation Movements were to the Sixth Pan-African Congress.

The rise of the concept of the "Third World" is an affirmation, at the ideological and conceptual level, that the revolutionary initiative lay with the workers and peasants of the capitalist periphery. The term as a conceptual formulation has acquired, at least, some descriptive utility and underscores the need for a reformulation of the objective position and potential of the struggle of African Peoples within the epi-centers and the periphery, relative to the struggle of the other revolutionary currents and forces which exist and are in motion in the world today.

Regarding the ideological confusion that has come to characterize much of the fuzzy thinking of some, Sekou Toure is again instructive:

> Confusion about ideological matters ruins every prospect of giving the struggle the right and effective orientation. We must be clear. We have suffered too much throughout history, and in the last few centuries we have been victims of too many inequities, too much contempt, too much crime to afford not to be enlightened fighters today. We must, once and for all, do away with metaphysical obscurantism.[21]

i. Sixth-PAC: Forum or Permanent Structure

The Sixth-PAC, therefore, was more than anything else, an arena for the struggle of the political ideas which originate from the various class forces and formations that make up the Pan-African world presently. In that regard, it is like the other congresses that have occurred and been labelled as Pan-African Congresses by historians who have attempted to chronicle the development of this very significant international social movement. It, therefore, becomes fruitless to try to appraise the Sixth Congress or any of these Congresses based upon the lasting transformational impact that they have had on the world by their mere occurrence.

The attempts by some to approach the question of the historical significance of the Sixth-PAC in this manner have shown themselves to be ahistorical and sterile. Earl Ofari, in this assessment, is an example of this error of analysis. He sets up a straw horse made up of the naive optimism that the Sixth-PAC would become the actual vehicle of the liberation of all African peoples and proceed to annihilate this type of metaphysical and mechanistic argument with his own line of reasoning which is equally metaphysical and mechanistic. He begins the conclusion of his article on the question by posing this ill-formulated and rhetorical question:

> . . . was the Congress worth the time, energy, and money that the Tanzanian government shelled out? No![22]

Keeping his straw horse out front, Ofari continues:

> The Congress at no point showed any inclination to elevate the politically weak and ineffectual 'Temporary Secretariat' to the status of permanent body. Although, this was supposedly another Congress goal.[23]

In his concluding statement he finally brings to bear all of his sterile cynicism.

> Given the failure, the Sixth Pan-African Congress did make history. The kind, unfortunately, that comes with being

> remembered more for what could have been than from what is was.[24]

What the Sixth-PAC really "was" is a forum. Under the circumstances "it could have been" nothing else. The world was not altered by its occurrence as it is never altered by the occurrence of any forum. What gives the Sixth-PAC its historical validity is that the class forces locked in ideological battle within it are also engaged in sharp and concrete struggle in the rest of the real world. It is the latter that energizes, drives and insures the continued progress of African peoples as it does human progress in general. The Congress, then, was a manifestation as well as an affirmation of that struggle at the ideological level. To the extent that the progressive forces operative within the Pan-African world at large were able to impact that forum and/or, indeed, prevail within it will become the yardstick by which it will be judged by future generations.

While the basic analysis of the type put forth by Earl Ofari and others is in error, it is easy to see why that particular form of approach is being used. The convening "Temporary Secretariat" laid out several very specific goals that it plainly wanted to see accomplished at the conclusion of the Congress. They were:

> **Goal 1:** The establishment of an African Science and Technology Center, based at an African Univer sity and having branches throughout the world.
>
> **Goal 2:** The establishment of an African Information Center, based on the continent of Africa and having branches throughout the world, which would house and disseminate information for and about Black people . . .[25]

These along with objective number 5 which read:

> Establishing a permanent Secretariat of the Sixth Pan-African Congress to effect and administer whatever plans the Congress so designates.[26]

made up the list of "unaccomplished" objectives. The point here is that some conceived of the Congress as a forum, other conceived of it as something else. Ofari is right in the sense that there was an attempt on the part of certain petit bourgeois elitist elements at the institutionalization of themselves and their class representatives through the establishment of a "Permanent Secretariat" and it was this that failed, not the Congress. An evaluation of the attempts on the part of the Pan-African petit- bourgeoisie at broadening its institutional hegemony will be returned to later in the presentation. The class origin of these differing views leads us logically into our analysis of the social forces present and participating in the ideological struggle which was the essence of the Sixth-PAC.

ii. The International Class Struggle

As we begin our analysis of the international contours of the class struggle, a number of conceptual problems reveal themselves. In the first place, there is a major theoretical difficulty which arises from the usage of "class" in an a scientific way.[27] The specific misapplication of the term occurs as a result of a failure to understand the most crucial aspect of a scientific definition of it which involves a consideration of the manner in which a relatively homogeneous grouping of people fit into the production process within a given social context. Flowing from this is an additional problem. Although there seems to be much agreement upon the essential meaning of the various class characterizations within a given peripheral context there is little agreement upon a consistent term designating them. Quite often the problem reduces itself to a mere semantic one.[28]

In the second place, there is a major conceptual problem that concerns the usage of the term "African diaspora" as a meaningful theoretical category capable of adding precision to an analysis. Regarding the usage of this concept, many writers have sought to make a distinction between it and continental Africa a central geo-political formulation in their works.[29] In this connection, we will continue to advance as our major geo-political categories the distinction between metropolitan and peripheral social situations. It is not simply a matter of semantic choice, but more scientifically

accurate. Its claim to accuracy is derived from an analysis of the historical development of the international capitalist system as an integrated world system of exploitation. Among the many other weaknesses of the "diasporian" formulation is the fact that it cannot take us beyond the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the history of the development of this system. Furthermore, it does not allow us to make a distinction between the Black metropolitan populations of North America and Western Europe on the one hand, and say the Black populations of the islands of the Caribbean archipelago on the other. These, of course are populations that fit into the present world system of production and exchange in quire different ways. In short, this formulation leads to confusion and error regarding the social position of certain metropolitan and peripheral Black populations.

Among those who adhere to the center-peripheral formula there is a raging controversy. It is related to the international alignment of classes. At the core of the debate is the political question of which classes in the world have the revolutionary initiative?

On the one hand, Arghiri Emmanuel[30] because his conclusions are derived from market dynamics, suggests that concentrated at the center of the international capitalist system are bourgeois nations and at its periphery are proletarian nations, since the reward for labor is greater in metropolitan areas owing to value transfers from the periphery. For Emmanuel this has resulted in the reactionary alignment of the metro proletariat with the metro bourgeoisie. Within the periphery of the system these same value transfers have the effect of cutting down the reward of labor as well as restricting the profit margin accruing to the local capitalist strata. It follows that these semi-bourgeois strata unite with the local laboring population for mutual economic liberation.[31] For Emmanuel, then, the conclusion is inescapable. The irreconcilable conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat within the developed nations has been reconciled and now the conflict is between the bourgeois nations as a whole and the proletarian nations taken as a whole.

In another view, Charles Bettelheim[32] while accepting the basic center-peripheral formulation, disagrees with the conclusions reached by Emmanuel. Bettelheim's formulations and conclusions rest upon

an analysis of the development of the forces of production within the center of the system compared with those in its periphery. From his analysis he concludes that the workers in the developed nations are being exploited at a higher rate than their counterparts in the underdeveloped regions. Accordingly, he further concludes that the revolutionary initiative still lies with the proletariat of the advanced capitalist regions.

Samir Amin has offered this critique of Bettelheim's argument.

> Bettelheim's argument stays within a 'classical' framework, which is to say a 'pre-Leninist' one. By this I mean that he analyses the class struggle on the national plane only-in other words, he discusses the question as though the world system were merely a juxtaposition of national capitalist systems and as though, correlatively, international problems made up a different sphere, without, of course, denying that there is interaction between the two spheres.[33]

In an attempt to reach a synthesis between these two sets of contending conclusions - that is between Emmanuel and Bettelheim - Amin goes further in his own formulation of the question:

> . . .capitalism has become a world system, and not just a Juxtaposition of 'national capitalisms.' The social contradictions characteristic of capitalism are thus on a world scale, that is, the contradiction is not between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of each country considered in isolation, but between the world bourgeoisie and this world proletariat exist in a context not of the capitalist mode of production but of the system of capitalist formations - which, as will be shown, means the formations at the center and the formations in the periphery.[34]

To the critical question of who is the world bourgeoises? Amin directly replies:

> . . . They are mainly the bourgeoisie at the center, along with the bourgeoisie, formed in its wake, in the periphery. The leading nucleus, the essential driving force, is at the 'center of centers,' in the monopolies of the United States. As for the

> bourgeoisie of the periphery, it has been formed in the context of a world market created, moved, led, and dominated by the center, as will be seen, and this is why the 'peripheral' bourgeoisie is always dependent.[35]

To the question of "who is the proletariat of the world?" Amin clearly identifies it as the differentiated metropolitan proletariat operating in unity with its more exploited peripheral counterpart. The dynamics of this process he outlines thusly:

> The essential increasing contradiction of the system is expressed, in fact, in the tendency of the rate of profit to decline. On a world scale, there is only one way to counter it; increase the rate of surplus value. The nature of the formations in the periphery makes it possible to increase this rate there much more than at the center. Consequently, in relative terms, the proletariat of the periphery suffers an increasing degree of exploitation as compared with the proletariat at the center.[36]

He goes on to identity the forms that the proletariat takes in the peripheral context: In this connection he has written that:

> . . . the proletariat in the periphery takes a variety of forms. It is not made up solely or even mainly of the wage-worker in a large-scale modern enterprise. Also forming part of it are the masses of peasants who are integrated into world exchanges and who on that account pay, like the working class of towns, the price of the unequal exchange that is reflected in the difference between the rates of surplus value at the center and in the periphery. Although various forms of social organization (often 'pre-capitalist' in aspect) form the framework in which these peasant masses exist, they are ultimately proletarianized through their integration into the world market. There are also the increasing masses of urban unemployed that are implied by the structure of the periphery, as a condition of the higher rate of surplus value.[37]

Considering further the general dynamics set into motion as part of the world revolutionary process where the peripheral proletariat as

defined is in revolt - we find that the exploitation taking place at the center has to increase along with a general deterioration in the conditions of life. In the periphery, contrary to Emmanuel's thesis the bourgeoisie within these formations does not consolidate with its proletariat. Instead it increases the conditions of the exploitation of all subordinate classes.

In addition, the proletariat at the center of the international system again, like its peripheral counterpart, is not monolithic. It is differentiated on the basis of the specific form of the exploitation taking place within different sectors of the metropolitan economy. Within the metropolitan context the driving sector of the economy is the capital intensive monopoly sector in which relatively privileged labor is concentrated.[38] Immigrant and/or minority labor along with labour from less developed regions of the metropole itself is to be found in the more backward sectors of these economies functioning under inhuman conditions of exploitation. Certainly, these classes and strata of metropolitan society are not to be considered part of the "labor aristocracy."[39]

Turning once again to a consideration of the conceptualization of the concept of social class itself, there are many different designations for these conduit bourgeois formations that international capitalism has created in its periphery. Part of the reason for this great diversity in terms employed is the fact that there is a great diversity in the form of these client strata owing to pre-capitalist development and variation in the productive forces regionally, which served to circumscribe and define the forms created by the impact of international capitalism upon them. Although these conduit formations may vary in form and in some cases they might even have some real control of some regional means of production - as in the case of the African agrarian semi bourgeoisie of Ghana and Nigeria. They may even appear as feudal forms. Hence, the classes that dominate the capitalist periphery do amass significant wealth through commercial activity in the import/export sector or through hegemony over a significant sector of domestic trade. Some acquire meaningful wealth through their positions within the state bureaucracy through salaries and through corrupt financial double dealing. Whatever the form that these strata may take, to

whatever degree they might exercise local economic hegemony or whatever the manner in which they accumulate their wealth; their activity and their very existence is circumscribed and determined by the place that they occupy within the international capitalist system to which they belong.

Some of the categories by which these conduit formations have been called are: Comprador bourgeoisie, Petit-bourgeoisie, even Lumpen-bourgeoisie.[40] All of these categories draw attention to several different aspects of the general phenomena of their dependency. The comprador category seeks to focus upon the commercial and financial dependency of such a stratum upon the metro bourgeoisie. In the same manner it would seem that the designation "petit-bourgeoisie" would be an attempt to indicate that this peripheral stratum is not a full fledged bourgeoisie and that it functions as an international middle class in much the same way that the petit bourgeoisie within metro society operates. The designation of the stratum in question as a "Lumpen-Bourgeoisie," perhaps, is an attempt to identify it as a distorted mutation of its metropolitan counterpart and to emphasize its beggar/hobo character.

It should be stated that the categories "petit-bourgeoisie" and "Lumpen-Bourgeoisie" both have major theoretical problems associated with their usage as analytical categories. What is being said here is that there is something to be learned from an examination of them as well as the implications that flow from their usage as descriptive categories.

Most of these kind of terms and terms similar to them represent genuine attempts at the level of description to come to grips with some feature of these client peripheral capitalist classes and many of the differences are semantic. There is a controversy in the midst of all this however. It revolves around the question of whether or not there exists a social force that has the independent capacity of forging a nation state of its own. Putting the question more sharply, are there national bourgeois strata within the capitalist periphery? Amilcar Cabral[41] and Walter Rodney[42] do not mention such formations. Others including Georges N. Nzongola[43] repeatedly refer to such a stratum in the case of Zaire. Samir Amin[44] mentions "bourgeois formations"

but is not explicit concerning their national and/or comprador character. He does clearly place these formations into the context of the international capitalist system in a dependent role and therefore, by implication has taken the position that their independence of the metro bourgeoisie is illusionary.

While it is true that the question reduces itself to one of the degree to which these conduit strata or formations exist and can act independently of or within the international capitalist system, politically this difference leads to further differences in historical interpretation. For instance, there is a tendency for those who hold that there exists (in some regions at least - a relatively independent bourgeois strata) to interpret the upheavals of the 1950's and 60's in Africa and the Caribbean as having revolutionary consequences. On the other hand, there is the tendency for those who view the exploitative formations existing within the periphery as being totally dependent upon the international big metro bourgeoisie to take the position that the mass movements of the 1950's and 60's were reform movements. In other words, they tend to view that period as a time when no new social class came to power even in the periphery. The present writer unites with the latter proposition and proceeds from it with an analysis of the class forces in ideological struggle at the Sixth-PAC.

iii. Class Forces Operating at the Sixth-PAC

At this point it is necessary to sketch out in broad contours the relevant class and other social forces so that we might pinpoint their political behaviour in the present period as to its progressive or reactionary character. In order to enrich our comprehension of the essential political nature of these peripheral continental African conduit class formations which he refers to as the "petty bourgeoisie," Walter Rodney is insightful. He has written in a pre-Sixth-PAC position paper that:

> It would be unhistorical to deny the progressive character of the African petty bourgeoisie at a particular moment in time. Owing to the low level of development of the productive forces in colonized Africa, it fell to the lot of the small privilege educated group to give expression to a mass

> of grievances against racial discrimination, low wages, low prices for cash crops, colonial bureaucratic commandism, and the indignity of alien rule as such. *But the petty bourgeoisie were reformers and not revolutionaries. Their class limitations were stamped upon the character of the independence which they negotiated with the colonial masters.*[45] (emphasis added).

Rodney continues his evaluation of the historical performance of these peripheral class formations as they have emerged on the African continent and in the Caribbean:

> . . . In the very process of demanding constitutional independence, they reneged on a cardinal principle of Pan-Africanism, namely, the unity and indivisibility of the African continent.[46]

It is plain that this stratum of the population could effectively raise the demand for constitutional independence in 1945 when such a call was progressive, but in so doing they opted for the creation of small nation states which have become the instruments of their own class tyranny as well as that of international capital whose identical interests they maintain.

Quite often there appears to be differences between, what many regard as, different class forces operating within the international area. These differences are just that - differences in *appearance.* They only reveal themselves at the level of tactical disputes within international ruling capitalist circles.

At this moment(1976) almost everywhere on the continent of Africa these kind of state formations abide, the only exception being southern Africa and perhaps Guinea-Bissau. Most are openly fascist military dictatorships, others slightly more democratic, but the basic character of ruling class politics in Africa today along with most of the underdeveloped world is reflected in the regional state hegemony of a conduit stratum or class formation. And without a doubt these states within the capitalist periphery are being wheeled in such a manner as to further entrench these reactionary comprador classes. Of the present politico-economic position of the peripheral African conduit petit-bourgeoisie, Rodney has this to say:

> . . . Their capital outlay might often be greater than that of a factory owner during the industrial revolution in England during the early nineteenth century, but in the present era of monopoly capitalism it suffices mainly for *chicken-farms*. In any event, most of the African petty bourgeoisie is not directly involved in economic enterprises — their real sphere being the professions, the administration and the military/police hierarchy. They lack both the vision and the objective base to essay the leap towards continental unity.[47]

While the degree to which the African conduit petit bourgeoisie operates outside of the economic sphere as well as the degree to which they do not own and control real wealth might be over stated here by Rodney. The passage has value to us because it is a general statement about their relative position within the historically developing international capitalist system. As such it is relatively accurate.

Just as the politico-economic position of any class formation circumscribes and defines its ideological perspective. So it is that the objectively anti Pan-African notions of the conduit petit bourgeoisie logically flow from their objective opposition to the struggle of the African workers and peasants for their own class liberation and African unity. The cause of African unity is an anti-capitalist cause to the extent that certain class forces are struggling in opposition to international capitalist production relations and its generalized form of social activity as it manifests itself in a given region; then they are struggling for African unity.

As of this moment the most advanced point that the insurgent Pan-African social democratic movement has reached on the continent has been in the liberation struggles and now in the governments of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau along with the ongoing struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Eritrea. The role that the conduit petit bourgeois classes are playing within these movements is of critical importance in an overall class analysis of the revolutionary struggle for African continental political unity.

With regard to these Liberation Movements, the ideological and political role of the conduit stratum has been somewhat different.

The historical reality of the mass mobilization of the population during relatively protracted armed struggles has had far reaching consequences upon the regional polity, in general and upon the capacity of various regional conduit petit bourgeois strata to take and to consolidate political power for themselves and international capital through a state fashioned by them for their class rule, in particular. Whether or not essentially conduit petit-bourgeois states of the old type will emerge within these regions is still an open question.

Of the ideological fragmentation and of the political behaviour in general of these conduit class formations consequent to the armed struggle of the African exploited masses, Cabral has this to say:

> . . . the petty-bourgeoisie can be divided into three sub-groups as regards the national liberation struggle. First, there is the petty bourgeoisie which is heavily committed, and compromised with colonialism: this includes most of the higher officials and some members of the liberal professions. Second, there is the group which we perhaps *incorrectly* call the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie: this is the part of the petty-bourgeoisie which is nationalist and which was the source of the idea of the national liberation struggle in Guinea. In between lies the part of the petty-bourgeoisie which has never been able to make up its mind between the national liberation struggle and the Portuguese.[48]

It is this element that Cabral describes "*incorrectly*" as the revolutionary section of the petit bourgeois conduit formation that are the most ideologically advanced today in the Pan-African world. It is they who are beginning to understand that the struggle for complete and genuine national liberation is, in essence a struggle for socialism and African unity. Broadly speaking, it was this element that constituted the most progressive element present at the Sixth Pan-African Congress. They along with the representatives of radical petit bourgeois regimes and those committed to socialist transformation within the metropolis went to make up the relatively small but powerful block of progressives in attendance at the Dar-es-Salaam meeting.

Those who constituted the various wings of the reaction, by and large, were the representatives of the majority African neo-colonial

states along with those of the Caribbean, and members of metropolitan delegations committed to the maintenance of these petit bourgeois conduit states in the capitalist periphery and of capitalism in the metopoles. To be sure, while these were the general contours, there was much vacillation and tactical manoeuvring within these various camps over issues placed before the Congress. Additionally, there were also some serious limitations placed upon what could be achieved within this type of structural framework.

Notes

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4. George Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism'," Phylon, 23:4, (Winter 1962), 346-58.

5. C. L. R. James, *A History of Pan-African Revolt*, (Washington: Drum and Spear Press, 1969).

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7. Samir Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale* (New York: Monthly Review, 1974), I., p. 4.

8. George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972), p. 95.

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10. W. E. B. DuBois, *The World and Africa* (New York: Viking Press, 1947), p. 7.

11. Clarence Contee, "Henry Sylvester Williams: Pioneer Pan-Africanist," *Black World*, March 1974, p. 33.

12. Amin, p. 13.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

14. Padmore, pp. 132-33.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-37.

16. Vincent B. Thompson, *Africa and Unity": The Evolution of Pan-Africanism* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1969), p. 59.

17. Padmore, *Pan-Africanism . . .*, pp. 149-50.

18. *Ibid.*

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22. Earl Ofari, "A Critical Review of the Pan-African Congress," *Black Scholar*, July-August, 1974, p. 15.

23. *Ibid.*

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25. The International Steering Committee of the Sixth PAC., "A Briefing Paper," *Black World*, March 1874, p. 8.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Georges N. Nzongola, "The Bourgeoisie and the Revolution in the Congo," *Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, 8:4 (1970), 511-30.

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29. Ladun Arise, "The Tyranny of a Purist Ideology," *Black World*, May 1975, pp. 19-27.

30. Arghiri Emanuel, *Unequal Exchange,* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972.)

31. Amin, *Accumulation . . .*, I, p. 22.

32. "Theoretical Comments by Charles Bettelheim," quoted in Arghiri Emmanuel, *Unequal Exchange*, pp. 271-22.

33. Amin, Op. cit., p. 23.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

36. *Loc. cit.*

37. *Loc. cit.*

38. James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), pp. 15-17.

39. Lenin, pp. 104-08.

40. Hilbourne Watson, Nationalization, Socialism and Repression in the Commonwealth Caribbean, paper presented at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Conference of Black Political Scientists, April 28 - May 1, 1976, in Chicago, p. 56.

41. Amilcar Cabral, "Brief Analysis of the Social Structure in Guinea," in *Revolution in Guinea: Selected Texts by Amilcar Cabral* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), pp. 56-75.

42. Walter Rodney, "Towards the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa, the Caribbean, and Ameria," in

H. Campbell ed., Pan-Africanism: Struggle Against Neocolonialism and Imperialism (Toronto: Afro-Carib Publications, 1974), pp. 18-40.

43. Nzongola, p. 520.
44. Rodney, p. 21.
45. Rodney, p. 21.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
48. Cabral, p. 62.

CHAPTER 8

An Analytical Chronology of Preliminary Meetings and Gatherings

In order to better understand the continuing intra-Pan-African ideological struggle which is part of the international class struggle as it impacted the Sixth-PAC, it is necessary to sketch out in some analytical detail the sequence of preliminary planning meetings that took place in various regions of the world. These meetings were important not just because they occurred, but because they too can be placed centrally within the context of an emerging and developing social movement. The currents and forces that came together and struggled on a more limited scale within them were also part of the struggle of our times. An evaluation of these preliminary gatherings offers us an opportunity to compare what the convenors had in mind with what the Sixth-PAC became as a result of the imperatives and constraints placed upon it by historical circumstance.

It is difficult to tell exactly when the first of these meetings took place. It is also difficult to ascertain which of them was more important than others. What we will do here is simply lay out the sequence in which they occurred and begin an examination of the ones with the broadest spectrum of mass participation and therefore the ones with the most intense ideological struggle. In this regard this chapter will proceed first by mentioning the series of small meetings where the basic idea and general plans took place. Then we will examine two Regional Planning Conferences; one convened in Kingston, Jamaica from February 14th through February 19th, of 1973 for the Caribbean and South America, and the other convened at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio from May 11th through May 13th of that same year.

Finally, as part of the conclusion for this chapter we will take a

look at one of the Sub-Regional Forums. This particular one was held at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia February 23, 1974. It was chosen because of the direct involvement of the author and the availability of primary documentation on the proceedings at that particular meeting. An evaluation of the eleventh hour decisions that affected the character of the Congress will provide us with an additional supplementary set of remarks.

From the beginning of the planning for the event there was subtle and often times obvious jockeying for position between the various class and social forces that wished to have proponents of their viewpoints present in Dar-es-Salaam. That is as it should be. It is therefore the task of this chapter to outline in some detail the ideological struggle surrounding the planning work of the Congress, in general, and of the North American and Caribbean delegations, in particular.

Since only two detailed works on the work of the Congress has appeared, it became necessary to rely heavily upon them. James Garrett's, "A Historical Sketch: The Sixth Pan-African Congress," in *Black World*[1] and Horace Campbell's edited volume, *Pan African: Struggle Against Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism.*[2] Campbell's work contains his assessment of the Sixth-PAC and contains most of the principle documents. These were the two basic sources for his chapter along with the author's personal notes and tapes. Although there has been a rash of articles and reports, they do not provide the type of detail that was required.

I. Black Power and the Sixth-PAC

The beginning of the series of small meetings that led to larger ones can be placed squarely within the Black Power movement toward the end of the decade of the 1960's. James Garrett, one of the key organizers of the Sixth-PAC from its earliest planning stages helps us place into context the first of these meetings as he informs us that:

> The specific genesis of the Sixth Pan-African Congress (Sixth-PAC) began at an international Black Power Conference in Bermuda in June, 1969. It was at this conference that the

> delegates were read a letter written by Kwame Nkrumah (Political Secretary of the 1945 Fifth-PAC) suggesting that a meeting of Black people take place on the African continent. The conference in Bermuda was organized by Roosevelt Browne, who was a member of the Bermuda Parliament at the time.[3]

Garrett is not that specific about what transpired at this gathering which he considers to be the first of the preliminary meetings that led up to the Sixth-PAC. He does however mention that a resolution was passed "to start formation of a Federation of the Caribbean, irrespective of language."[4]

A second international Black Power Conference was organized by Roosevelt Browne, the Bermuda M. P., which was scheduled to convene in Barbados in July of 1970, the following year. This meeting never took place. James Garrett, in his account of this period in the formational pre-planning that eventuated in the Sixth-PAC, presents this revealing statement in an attempt to explain why this particular meeting was never convened. He says:

> . . . during the spring of that year, uprisings were occurring in the Caribbean Islands - many under the banner of Black Power. French, British, Dutch, and American officials met with Errol Barrows, Prime Minister of Barbados, and convinced him to cancel the meeting. In fact, no Caribbean nation was willing to host the Black Power Conference.[5]

It would seem that the European and North American metropolitan nations with an interest in the Caribbean had begun to mount a campaign to stop this conference that was part of a process rooted in popular movement for reform. Imperialist reformers like all reformers are cautious indeed. The cancellation of this meeting in the face of upheaval demonstrated the instability of these fledging state formations in the periphery and the class nature of the labouring population's struggle against them. And the fact that the meeting was not held also raised, for the first time, the issue of the role of Black governments in the planning and conducing of the business of the Sixth-PAC. This

issue was one of the greatest sources of conflict and followed the delegates right to the floor of the Congress in Dar-es-Salaam.

As a result of these events a meeting was called to discuss possible alternative courses of action. The meeting was held in Philadelphia in May of 1970 and was convened by a "Black Power On-Going Committee in America" chaired by Chuck Stone.[6]

Among those present at this meeting besides Chuck Stone and Roosevelt Browne were Leonard Harris of the Midwest Coalition, Haywood Henry and Richard Taylor of the Unitarian Church. Perhaps, the most significant decision made at that gathering was to hold a large popular based conference under the banner of the new catch phrase "We are an African People," a phrase which was capturing the imagination of many activists within the social democratic upheavals that punctuated the period. This conference was held in Atlanta, Georgia in September of 1970 and came to be known as the founding conclave of the "Congress of African People."

The Atlanta meeting is important to us because it was here that the possibility of convening an All-African Peoples Conference was for the first time broadly discussed. Although the focus was clearly on the developing situation in North America, there were delegates in Atlanta from continental Africa, the West Indies, and even Australia.[7] Garrett once again provides us with a general description of the character of the discussion around the convening of a much broader international conference.

> . . . Aside from the gossip, political posturing and general griping, there was some serious discussion about an All-African Peoples Conference - one which preferably would be held outside the U. S. Speculation seemed to center on four states - Guinea, Nigeria, Algeria, and Tanzania.[8]

Up until the close of 1971, there had been much verbal exchange between various leadership elements of the metropolitan and peripheral social democratic movement. However, it was not until April of 1971 that a meeting was called by Browne again, in Bermuda for the specific purpose of planning to hold a "Sixth Pan-African Congress". It was at this meeting that the work that would lead us directly to the Congress

in Dar-es-Salaam was begun. Among the principles present were James Garrett and Courtland Cox from the Center for Black Education in Washington, D. C. Cox would later become Secretary General of the Congress. The Tanzanian High Commissioner for Canada, Abbas Sykes, came and officially presented the views of his government.

C. L. R. James who was invited and did come, but was not allowed into the country by the government of Bermuda.[9] James, of course was the only avowed Marxist among those who actually came to the meeting.

The meeting went on as planned. It was decided to convene a Pan-African Conference in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania in the Spring of 1972 composed of both sponsors and delegates with a deliberate effort made to de-emphasize the role of major personalities.[10]

The following month (May 29-30) another planning meeting was held - this time at Goddard College in Vermont. Those present collectively reaffirmed that they were committed to convening the Sixth-PAC in Tanzania, but rescheduled it for August or September of 1972. In addition, several committees were set up to carry out the work of establishing contacts and setting up further meetings with other interested persons. It was also decided that Calvin Hicks, Director of Third World Studies at Goddard College and host of the meeting, would draft the "Call" for the Congress; and that he along with Roosevelt Browne were responsible for the overall coordination of subsequent planning.[11]

Browne attempted to set up a meeting which was to be held in Guyana in August of 1971. His main contact person in this effort was Eusi Kwayana, chairperson of the African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA). The meeting did not occur.[12] Kwayana, a popular leader whose opposition to the ruling government of Forbes Burnham had become widely known, was severely restricted in his capacity to organize the type of meeting that Browne, acting through him, envisioned.

In lieu of the Guyanese meeting a small gathering took place in Washington, at the Center for Black Education. The principles involved are not specific about the exact month in which it took place. The only thing to come out of it was a firm decision to hold a working

meeting at a later date on a larger scale. Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan was chosen as its site.[13]

On October 22, 1971 the Oakland meeting took place. There the key issue was drawing up a formal structure. Provisions were made to set up a central office in Washington, D. C. which was to become the office of Winston Wiltshire who was chosen Secretary-General at this meeting. Wiltshire was mandated in turn to choose any staff persons that he might need. The African world was divided up into nine regions which were to be the basis for the geo-political organizational effort for the Congress. This decision was a very important one primarily because it reveals to us the nature of the representation that those involved in the preparatory work, at that point, had in mind. This indicates clearly that they saw a congress that was *not* to be apportioned on the strict basis of governmental representation. From this regional breakdown was to come a Committee of International Sponsors, Regional Committees, and a Secretarial Committee.[14]

It was also decided at the Oakland gathering that: 1) a planning committee would travel to various places within the Pan-African world to establish contact with those who would be willing to help work for the convening of the Sixth-PAC; 2) the Congress would be conducted in Arabic, English, French, Kiswahili, Portuguese, and Spanish; and 3) a formal letter was drafted and sent out announcing the formation of a Planning Committee to convene a Sixth Pan-African Congress and asking for sponsorship from certain key international personalities.[15]

On December 18, 1971 at Temple University in Philadelphia a meeting was held to discuss the role that science and technology would play in the Congress. Here we find the beginnings of the technocratic thrust that became one of the most important political tendencies within the large North American delegation that eventually went to the Congress.

A key figure in the Temple meeting was Ambassador Sykes of Tanzania. His government by this time was openly recruiting African American Scientific and Technological personnel as part of its diplomatic initiative. Of Sykes' role in the meeting Garrett has this to say:

> . . . Ambassador Sykes pointed out that Afro-Americans

> should be more concrete in their contributions to African development. He felt technically skilled people and financial resources were two examples of potential contributions.[16]

From this point on, planning for the Congress began to take on an emphasis in the direction of scientific and technological aid - devoid of a political analysis of the position of peripheral African states within the international capitalist system. As a result of this meeting a Scientific and Technical Committee was set up which began to serve as a vehicle of the consolidation of this technocratic tendency.

II. European Preliminary Organizing Activity

During January of 1972 a team of Sixth-PAC organizers began visiting various Black communities in Europe for the purpose of informing and pulling together the nucleus of a European Regional Planning Committee for the Congress. The group was composed of Roosevelt Browne, James Garrett, Liz Grant, and Abbas Sykes.[17] Most of their effort was concentrated in the working class districts of Britain. They visited and spoke to Black audiences in Birmingham, Yorkshire, Wolverhampton, Leicester, and London. In an assessment of their effort Garrett tells us:

> Our discussion with these groups were never very productive. I think that we assumed they would welcome a Pan-African Congress. Instead, they were very skeptical. They felt that Pan-Africanism meant Marcus Garvey, and that Marcus Garvey meant 'Back to Africa' and 'Back to Africa' meant reactionary nationalism. They were also leery of the scientific and technological aspect of the Congress. They felt that technically skilled people had *bourgeois* mentalities and could not be trusted. They posed a number of problems with which we were not prepared to deal. They felt that the Congress should take a decidedly anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, and anti-racist stand (they wanted East Indians to be considered as Blacks). This was before the Call was written. (Emphasis and parenthesis in the original).[18]

It was at this point that C. L. R. James, who had been active for a

great many years within the European Black working class community and was well know and respected, emerged as a stabilizing force. Of James' personal impact within these meetings, Garrett continues:

> . . . C. L. R. James bailed us out by attending several meetings, backing the Congress and giving substance to our position. This was the first time we had talked extensively to people outside the organizing group about the Congress. It was clear that we had a great deal of thinking and work to do.[19]

It can be seen from the foregoing that a number of political questions were beginning to be raised in very sharp perspective. They could be posed in a clear manner because the Sixth-PAC organizers were for the first time faced with activists of differing ideological persuasions coming from their concrete practice and class orientations within a metropolitan setting. The question of the class struggle was raised repeatedly within this series of meetings. It could be seen clearly from the insistence by many that East Indians were "Black," that petit-bourgeois technocrats were not to be trusted, and that reactionary nationalism" is to be avoided. But, perhaps, most telling commentary of all was the fact that it was C. L. R. James, a "Marxist," with a class analysis that was able to give the organizers more credibility in this context. This is especially significant since it was Abbas Sykes who was supposed to fulfill this role within this delegation of Sixth-PAC organizers.[20]

While in Britain they also met with representatives of various Liberation Movements. These groups were pushing for a forum in which they had equal representation with the Representatives from various African governments. Within these meetings ideological struggle between different Liberation Movements proporting to represent the population of the same countries came to the surface which, or course was to be expected.

The small Sixth-PAC organizing delegation left England and arrived in France toward the middle part of January of 1972. There the reception was quite surprising to them. Garrett, writing of this experience says:

> . . . The people laughed when we spoke of a Sixth Pan-African Congress. ('Oh, no, it must be the 16th'). They were amused when we spoke of the endorsements of C. L. R. James, Nkrumah, and Nyerere. But, at the mention of Sekou Toure, they would leave. (We learned later of the Guinean National Front, a well-financed anti-Toure group based in Paris.) . . . we were followed (sometimes openly) until we left France. (Parenthesis in the original)[21]

Because of the great polarity within the French African immigrant community, establishing contacts for setting up functioning organizing committees for the Sixth-PAC was difficult. The delegation's encounter with Carlos Moore provides us with a vivid example of the sectarian nature of some of these contacts. Of this Garrett recalls:

> . . . We did meet with Alioune Diop from *Presence African.* His discussions with Liz Grant were very helpful. He put us in contact with Carlos Moore, whom I had heard of through articles he had published attacking Cuba in a magazine called *Soul Book.* Moore was for the Congress but against Castro, Marxists, Communists, and Arabs. He did not want to help set up a group with Diop because he felt Diop still spoke to the Marxists. So we asked that he and Diop establish separate groups.[22]

The next planning meeting occurred on February 5, 1972, again at Temple University in Philadelphia. Winston Wiltshire, the Secretary General of the Congress introduced for approval the Draft Call. It was ratified. He also laid out plans for the opening of an office.[23] Other than a minor enlargement of the committee and listening to the report of the European delegation not much of any consequence transpired at this meeting.

III. The Initial Caribbean Organizing Effort

Courtland Cox and James Garrett went to Guyana on February 12 where a small meeting was called. In fact, two sets of meetings were going on during the same time period. One of them was concerned with the Sixth-PAC for which Cox and Garrett came to Guyana.[24] The other was concerned with the organization work for African

Liberation Day. Owusu Sadaukai of the Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, North Carolina and Kasisi Jitu Weusi of the East Group were present in Guyana for those meetings. The central Guyanese figure in both sets of meetings was Eusi Kwayana of ASCRIA. Saduakai urged Kwayana and ASCRIA to turn their African Solidarity Day into a day in which large mass mobilizations and demonstrations were held in Guyana as part of a larger series of demonstrations that were to be organized throughout the Pan-African world. Up to that point, ASCRIA's African Solidarity Day had not taken on the type of mass mobilizational and educational character that Sadaukai was now suggesting. As a result of their meeting, Kwyana and ASCRIA agreed to serve as the Caribbean organizing nucleus for African Liberation Day (ALD).[25]

With regard to the Sixth-PAC Kwyana reaffirmed his commitment to it as a necessary meeting of non-governmental progressives. He agreed to remain as one of the Sixth-PAC's international sponsors and, to assume the additional responsibility of acting, along with Roderick Francis of Jamaica, as Caribbean regional co-ordinators.[26]

According to Garrett, a series of small meetings were to take place between he and Courtland Cox as representatives of the Sixth-PAC and several popular leaders in Trinidad where they went immediately after leaving Guyana. These meetings never occurred because their principle contacts, Dave Darbo, Geddes Granger, and George Weeks had all been jailed by the Eric Williams regime as part of the measures instituted during the state of emergency which was being imposed by the government on the two small islands.[27]

From Trinidad-Tobago Cox and Garrett stopped briefly in Jamaica where they attempted to contact the ailing Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, among others. They were unable to make any connection with Trevor Munroe and Richard Smalls, two of their key contacts. Finding Mrs. Garvey ill, the only fruitful meeting was with Marcus Garvey, Jr. Of this meeting, Garrett merely tells us that we simply informed him of some of the preparations being made for the Sixth-PAC. That is all.[28]

IV. North American Planning Meetings

It is not clear from the organizing effort for the Sixth-PAC when the general "Planning Committee" established the North American "Planning Committee" unless it was at the October 22, 1971 Oakland University meeting. What is clear is that it is difficult to discern from Garrett's account at what point certain structural entities came into being as part of the overall development of the Sixth-PAC effort and what were their actual functioning relationships with one another.

A meeting called the "North American Planning Committee" meeting did take place at Malcolm X. Liberation University on March 18, 1972.[29] By this time Owusu Sadaukai as well as Walter Rodney who was teaching at the University of Michigan that year, had become involved in the planning effort. At this meeting most of the discussion centered around developing criteria for the choosing of delegates to the Sixth-PAC. There was some scepticism about involving some of the more known and established "leaders" such as Black elected officials like Richard Hatcher and Charles Diggs. Even Imamu Baraka was looked upon with some distrust primarily because this meeting was taking place at about the time of the First Convention of the National Black Assembly in Gary, Indiana. Some at the meeting were wondering about the nature of the connection between Baraka and the Black elected officials.[30] It was finally decided after a lengthy discussion that North American delegates to the Congress should, as Garrett stated at the meeting, "involve those who had nationalist/progressive constituencies and who had spent some time organizing around African issues."[31]

Another meeting was held on April 22, 1972 in Washington, presumably of the same body. Plans were outlined at this meeting to send a delegation to confer with Julius Nyerere directly regarding the Congress. Prior to this, arrangements were made through contacts at the ambassadorial level. It was decided that the delegation would be made up of Courtland Cox, Bill Douglas, James Garrett, C. L. R. James, and Fletcher Robinson.[32] It was known at this point that the Tanzanian government was openly soliciting African American scientists and technicians as a matter of official state policy. It was, therefore, part

of this decision that scientists and technicians, as many as possible, were to be included within the delegation.

The delegation arrived in Dar-es-Salaam toward the middle of May of 1972. After a preliminary meeting with the head of the foreign ministry, John Malecela, and his aide Bernard Muganda, the delegation conferred with President Julius Nyerere. Nyerere, as head of the Tanzanian government, agreed to host the Congress in June, 1973. In this meeting he also put forth the position of TANU and his government as to why it was in their interest to hold the Congress there. He stated, in effect, that the hosting of the Congress would serve to reduce the isolation that Tanzania was experiencing because of some of its progressive stances on both foreign and domestic issues. Thus, by holding the Congress in Dar-es-Salaam, the international profile of his government would be raised especially in the metropole and in the Black community of the U. S. of North America in particular.[33] It can easily be concluded that TANU had something very definite in mind as part of its foreign policy in hosting the Congress. It was in this way that the organizers got their first real dose of the kind of policy that would eventually lead to a situation where C. L. R. James, the leader of this delegation, would exclude himself from participation in the Congress which at that moment he was attempting to organize.

After talking with Nyerere and concretely setting the date for the Congress for June of 1973, plans for it could proceed in a more definitive manner. Upon their return to the U. S. towards the end of May, the morale of the Secretariat and the Planning Committee was high.[34] (It is impossible to discern what these two bodies were. Nor is it possible to determine from the principles involved what their relationship was to each other, at this point, let alone who served on them). It should be mentioned in this connection that this was a period of a great deal of work by many different organizational formations on issues directly originating from and related to the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau. Of this activity, perhaps the most significant single event in terms of mass mobilization was May 27, 1972 African Liberation Day.

As a result of the meeting with Nyerere and this generalized increase in African liberation support work, more people became

involved in the planning work of the Sixth-PAC. And predictably, criticism and reorganization began to take place. Pressure began to build against Winston Wiltshire who was at that time still serving as Secretary General. Garrett writes of Wiltshire's leadership:

> . . . He was a very good administrator but lacked the energy to organize. As a consequence, there was little to administer.[35]

In the latter part of August of 1972 another meeting was held in which the *Call* was redrafted. In the months of September and October two sets of meetings were convened at the Black Economic Research Center in New York headed by Robert Browne. During these meetings Wiltshire and the Sixth-PAC leadership were being placed under continuous pressure originating from questions being raised by Baraka and Sadaukai regarding the origin of the supportive finances as well as the questionable intentions of the organizers. In addition Cox and Garrett proceeded to level criticism of the capacity of the planning committee to be effective under Wiltshire's leadership.[36] In the face of this kind of pressure Wiltshire resigned and severed all ties with the Planning Committee and the Secretariat as a whole. In November of 1972, Courtland Cox became the Secretary General of the Congress. The exact process by which this took place is not clear. Garrett does say this concerning the matter:

> He (Cox) did not conspire to take over the position. It was pressed upon him, mainly because, as with Wiltshire, no one else would take it.[37]

The specific context in which Cox ascended to the highest executive office of the existing planning bodies of the Sixth-PAC or the exact nature of his mandate remains a matter of conjecture.

Upon assuming the duties of the Secretary-General a decision was made by the new leadership to move the office of the Secretariat of the Congress to the Center for Black Education (CBE) in Washington. From this point forward the staff of the CBE became the Sixth-PAC staff.

The following month December 1972 two activists from the Caribbean Unity Conference who were working very closely with C. L. R. James went to Guyana, Trinidad, and Jamaica in an effort to monitor the progress that was being made since the Cox/Garrett visit as well as to establish new contacts where the previous representatives of Sixth-PAC had not. Valerie Andrews and Tony Ferguson, both from Trinidad, were able to meet with Kwayana in Guyana and with Darbo, Granger, and Weeks in Trinidad. This was, of course, something Cox and Garrett were unable to accomplish because of the state of emergency that was in effect during their visit. In addition Andrews and Ferguson met with the Jamaican leaders which Cox and Garrett could not contact. Trevor Munroe and Richard Smalls were consulted by these Sixth-PAC representatives.

Garrett reports that upon their return in January of 1973 Andrews and Ferguson were critical of Roderick Francis and the manner in which he was approaching the preparations for the upcoming Caribbean Regional Planning Conference due to occur in February.[38] The basis of the criticism of him involved the degree to which the Jamaican and other Caribbean governments were being lauded by the right wing of the Sixth-PAC Caribbean and South American Regional Planning body.

Since at this point, it will be a difficult task to discuss or even to mention the many meetings and gatherings that were taking place at this stage of the work in preparation for the Congress, we will proceed by considering only those significant gatherings which involved large numbers of people or those where critical decisions were made. In the remainder of this chapter our attention will be focused upon; 1) the first Caribbean and South American Regional Planning Conference, 2) the North American Regional Planning Conference, 3) the Southern Forum of the Sixth Pan-African Congress, and 4) Critical decisions made upon the eve of the Congress.

V. The First Caribbean and South American Regional Planning Conference

On February 14, 1973 the first Caribbean and South American Regional Planning Conference was opened and lasted through

February 19, 1973 at the government owned Kingston Hotel in Jamaica. Roderick Francis chairing the meeting remarked:

> This is the first Pan-African convention to be held in the Caribbean (and in Jamaica). It is also the first time that Jamaica as a nation is participating in an effort that is connected with the Pan-Africanism among blacks in the West.[39] (Parenthesis in the original).

This along with the following from the *General Report* on the conference can serve to give us an idea of the class character of the meeting. The *General Report* reads in part:

> The meeting was opened by the Jamaica Minister of State, the Honorable Dudley Thompson, who spoke on behalf of the Honorable Norman Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica and the Jamaica government. Mr. Thompson, who was a member of the 1945 Manchester Pan African Congress, stressed the importance of Black people pooling their abilities and resources in order to develop our capacity for self-reliance.[40]

Garrett, in his account spoke of the meeting in this manner:

> The meeting, co-sponsored by the Jamaican Government, revealed some of the contradictions which were to plague the Congress through June 1974.[41]

It is of extreme interest to note that after two organizing trips to the Caribbean two revelations emerge. In the first instance, the Sixth-PAC planning leadership bodies had not attempted to contact heads of states in that region, and in the second place, no contact or even mention was made of either Cuba at the governmental level or otherwise. Garrett continued with his account of this meeting in this manner:

> Progressive (Marxist-oriented) Blacks threatened to picket the meeting - not because they opposed the Congress but because they felt such a meeting would enhance the

> international image of a neo-colonial regime (Jamaica). This was a serious problem.[42] (Parenthesis in the original).

He goes on to reveal his own limited understanding of what he himself termed "a serious problem.":

> In our estimation, all states were either imperialist or neo-colonial (as Nyerere has stated, 'all governments are conservative.')[43] (Parenthesis in the original)

Of the ideological struggle that surfaced during the course of the Conference, Garrett writes the following:

> . . . It (the meeting) quickly broke down into a debate between nationalists - Carlos Moore, Abdias Do Nascimento from Brazil, and Roberta Sykes from Australia - and progressives, - including Smalls, Munroe, and Ferguson. Paul Bomani, the Tanzanian ambassador, and Courtland Cox tried to guide the meeting through as smoothly as possible.[44] (Parenthesis added).

This meeting presents us with an occasion where once again the struggle between those who view Pan-Africanism as all class unity among African peoples and those who regard it as a progressive ideology that cast the concept in class terms. The lines of debate were drawn between those of the right who see conflict between the races of the world as the motive force of history and those of the left who see racism as a social phenomenon which emerged from the internationalization of capitalist production relations and continues to reinforce those relations at the level of the international super-structure.

It might also be noted that the leadership of the planning of the Congress regarded this expected and necessary ideological struggle as "a problem." This of course implies that they were also wishing for the days of all class unity which is reflective of their political orientation. This historical argument objectively puts them into the camp of those who see simple race as the motive force of history.

In addition, we can see for the first time what the leadership of the Congress had in mind. Garrett would have us believe that Cox

and Bomani were neutral in this ideological struggle. Let us examine that more closely. In his address to the first plenary session of the Caribbean meeting Cox, as Secretary-General stated that the working objectives for the Sixth-PAC were as follows:

> 1) The establishment of an all-African Science and Technology Center, based at an African university, and having branches throughout the world, which would do research and analysis, and create techniques, delivery systems to deal with those of our needs which can be answered by science and technology.
>
> 2) The establishment of an all-African Skills Bank which would coordinate and mobilize manpower in the various fields of science and applied technology existing among African people around the world.
>
> 3) The establishment of an African Information Center, based on the continent, and having branches throughout the world, which would house and disseminate information about and for Black people, especially current, news worthy information; serve as an African Cultural Center, displaying the full range of Black people's culture; and provide hospitality services for Africans travelling away from home, whether continental Africans travelling in the west, or Black people from the west visiting in Africa.[45]

This is indeed an interesting set of "goals." The technocratic jargon belies the petit-bourgeois class character of these goals. Since there is no mention of any political transformation or for that matter any politics at all, it is presumed that the present state structures within the Black world are progressive enough to aid in the development of "techniques and delivery systems to deal with those of our needs which can be answered by science and technology."

The Secretariat's technocratic orientation was laid bare for all to see. Furthermore, the structure and the conduct of the conference is reflective of the hegemony of forces which are not sympathetic to a class interpretation of historical movement, and were in many cases overtly hostile to such a view at the conference. For example, the speakers' platform as well as the chair of the various working

committees was in the undisputed hands of those who were opposed to class analysis as a scientific tool.[46] Principle in this essentially right opportunist thrust were Roderick Francis, Abdais do Naciamento, Amy Jacques-Garvey, Dudley Thompson, Z. Munroe Scarlett, and Roberta Sykes who wrote the report. The general theme of class unity and harmony was emphasized as part of the report which is another affirmation of their hegemony. One of the most significant accomplishments of this tendency at the meeting was the institutionalization and the legitimization of themselves within the approved regional structure. In addition to this major victory their ideological hegemony was reflected in the committee reports from the four other discussion committees (the fifth was one on regional organization and structure for the Caribbean and South America).[48]

The report on Repatriation and Reparations, chaired by Z. Munroe Scarlett recommended the following to the general body:

1) That the matter of Repatriation and Reparations be placed on the agenda of the Sixth Pan-African Congress as an important question.

2) That the Sixth Pan-African Congress declare all Africans have the right to repatriate.

3) That the question of repatriation be raised with all the governments of Africa individually; and that it also be raised collectively through the Or ganization of African Unity with the view to having them declare themselves favourably on this question.

4) That a permanent secretariat be set up to deal with the matter of repatriation.

5) That the permanent secretariat demand of the imperial powers reparations commensurate with the harm that has been done to Africans all over the world.[49]

Needless to say that there is a great deal of idealistic nonsense contained within these recommendations. Aside from this general

theme there are some specifics that can aid us in a better comprehension of the process in motion here. In the first place, there are the recurrent appeals to petit-bourgeois regimes and to the imperialist powers themselves. There is also a failure to understand that the Sixth-PAC was to be primarily a forum not a continuing permanent institution. Hence the recommendation to set up a permanent secretariat to deal with the question of reparations and repatriation is impractical.

In the Science and Technology Committee report we find similar notions. Petit-bourgeois technocrats seemed to have had hegemony within this committee under the co-chairmanship of J. Fletcher Robinson and William Douglas. This committee simply recommended the creation of three relatively permanent institutions. They were 1) a Science and Technology Information Center, 2) a Pan-African Center for Applied Science and Technology; and 3) a Black Skills Bank.[50] While a number of other things were discussed the assumption is that these "institutions" will operate within the present state machines in place on the continent of Africa and throughout the Pan-African world.

Roberta Sykes chaired a committee concerning itself with the problems of Black peoples in Australia, Papua, New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands. The report asserted that "the impoverished conditions imposed by white settlers on Black people in Australia, Papua, New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands"[51] is being met with the "inevitable struggle of Black people there to recreate their independence and to shape their own development."[52] This committee, therefore recommended that this question be placed before the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations.

The Committee on Southern Africa held an extensive discussion on contemporary political developments within that region. It was co-chaired by Abdias Do Nascimento and Michael Hudson and it recommended the following:

> 1.There be a world-wide educational program among black communities around the world about the struggle in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Guinea-Bissau.

> 2. African communities in the west and the continent make a concerted effort to provide material and technical assistance to the liberation movements and to the people of Southern Africa.[53]

While these recommendations appear to be sound and substantive the petit-bourgeois character of their content is seen in their failure to establish a clear linkage between the struggle in Southern Africa and struggle in the Caribbean. Raising of this question would of course bring the Sixth-PAC up against certain of the neo-colonial regimes in that region. They could not very well do that given their own class orientation.

Although it is not clear how the decisions of this conference were made since there is no record of any voting taking place, the occurrence of this first Caribbean conference represented the first time that significant popular participation took place within the planning activity for the SixthPan-African Congress in that region of the world. The ideological struggle that took place there saw the left progressives outflanked by a formidable right opportunist force. The right was, nevertheless, engaged. As it would be on other occasions leading up to the Congress.

VI. The North American Regional Planning Conference

About 150 participants gathered at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio on May 11-13, 1973 for the North American Regional Planning Conference. At this conference the rightwing petit-bourgeois tendency within the leadership of the planning group were challenged on their conception of the Congress and definition of the role of science and technology.

By the afternoon of the second day(Saturday, May 12) of the Conference several things were clear to many of those present: 1) That the Secretariat fully intended to attempt to develop this institute of Science and Technology which Cox had spoken of at the Kingston, Jamaica meeting and which they had repeatedly published as one of their "goals and objectives;" 2) that the Secretariat intended to use the Sixth Pan-African Congress and its organizational activity in the U. S. and North America, in general, as a vehicle for the mobilization

of Black Scientific and Technological personnel under a scientific classless conceptualization of "self-determination;" 3) that although there were other questions to be considered the central question at this conference was the role of science and technology in human progress; and 4) that even though the meeting was stacked with right wing technocrats and their supporters, a significant left force was present who saw that the definition of the role of science and technology as well as a general definition of the meaning of Pan-Africanism must be cast in class terms if either is to continue to serve human social progress.

Based upon this assessment of the Conference, a resolution was drafted on March 12 by Modibo Kadalie and Kimathi Mohammed with the help of Malcolm Askia and others, to give the left forces a point at which to focus their challenge to the right technocrats. The resolution read in part:

> In most cases, no fundamental changes in either property relations or economic relations have occurred in those countries which won their political independence. The North American Planning Conference is, therefore, in agreement that at present science and technological development in most, if not all, of the countries which have their political independence is still being used to the detriment of the masses of African people.[54]

The document goes on to identify the Multi-National Corporations (MNC's) as the principle enemy of the Black workers and peasants. It states that:

> In South Africa, for instance, black people are the most *technologically_advanced* segment of the population. They are the people who operate the mines but they do not control and/or own the mechanism of production; neither do they receive any of the profits which come from the sale of the commodities produced.[55]

The assertion that "black people are the most technologically advanced segment of the population" is used to indicate that South African labourers work within the most advanced sector of the

economy and are the sole suppliers of labour for a highly developed metropolitan industrialized society. They therefore, occupy a unique position not only within that society but on the African continent as a whole.

The document[56] goes even further to establish the connection between the quality of science and technology (its class type) to the import-export policies of MNC controlled African states. This vital connection is stated in the following manner:

> We are also conscious that countries in Africa are importing steel instead of using bamboo because the multi-national corporations are obviously dominating and actually dictating import-export policy for African States. Grapefruit juice is also being imported even though there is an abundance of grapefruit trees in Africa.[57]

It was clear to us at this point that the Secretariat saw the Sixth-PAC as more than just a forum. We were uncertain, however, whether or not they could make it more than the forum we saw it to be. In other words, we did not know if they were sufficiently strong as to institutionalize themselves into some entity which derived its mandate from the Sixth-PAC. We did know that such a plan was in their minds. It was with this is our minds that we expressed solidarity with their intention to establish an African Peoples Scientific and Technological Institute, and engaged them on the basis of our differences with them on the class character of such an institution. The resolution reads thusly in this connection:

> Whereas, there are many contradictions and antagonisms both internal and external which are apparent to this North American Planning Conference.
>
> Whereas, the black masses in Africa and diaspora are engaged in a daily struggle to transform modern capitalist society into a new world social order which is not based upon exploitation and oppression.

> Whereas, at present there is no institution in the world whose specific purpose is to facilitate the socialistic development of African peoples.
>
> Be it resolved that the North American Regional Planning Conference for the coming Sixth Pan-African Congress go on record for the establishment of an African People's Science and Technology Institute with the following goals/objectives and guidelines.[58]

Under the section headed "Goals/objectives" the resolution specifically outlines the following:

> A. To unleash the revolutionary and creative instincts of the workers and peasants.
>
> B. To provide whatever training which might be deemed necessary to expedite and insure complete control of both the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy by the workers and peasants.
>
> C. To facilitate socialist development in all respects of the economy so that all scientific and technological endeavours will serve the masses of African peoples.[59]

The full text of the resolution is included in the appendices of this effort. The document was introduced on the floor of the general assembly of the conference the evening of May 12, 1973, and provided the basis of a heated debate. Cox was presiding over the proceedings that evening and after Malcolm (2X)Askie of Lansing, Michigan read the full text of the resolution the beginnings of a genuine ideological struggle over its contents was commenced. Cox skillfully diverted the emerging principled discussion into a debate over what should be done with it. In a manoeuvre which appeared to be motivated by parliamentary ineptitude he purposed to resolve the situation by having the general body vote on one of three alternatives. We could vote, according to Cox's ruling, 1) to consider the resolution favourably at that session of the conference, 2) to consider the resolution unfavourably at that

session of the conference, 3) to table it for a vote the next day. At this point it was irrelevant if Cox's ruling was motivated by parliamentary ineptitude or skillful right opportunist manipulation, the result was the same. Supporters of the resolution were effectively divided between those who were for alternative number one and three. There were those who want to vote for the resolution right then. And there were those hoping for a better opportunity for passage the next day and therefore were for alternative number three. The reaction could consolidate behind alternative two and immediately defeat the resolution. The issue was confused and the conference was thrown into pandemonium because of what was perceived as parliamentary blundering. Cox did not put the question or have the question put into the usual "yes" or "no" form that definitive resolution of any question before a body requires.

In any event, after several recounts it was voted to be tabled for consideration the following day. Due to program manipulation and changes that were made by certain members of the convening secretariat, the resolution never was reintroduced within the general body for further action. Popular support for it was undeniable since it could not be defeated directly in a floor fight, something for which the Secretariat was unprepared. It was therefore defeated by some undemocratic process that occurred outside the general body.

It is interesting to note that no official record of this struggle or of the resolution can be found in any of the documents and recorded minutes of the North American Regional Planning Conference. It can safely be concluded that an attempt was made to cover up this aspect of the Conference. It was not until March of 1975 almost a full year after the Sixth-PAC in Dar-es-Salaam in which the left emerged triumphant that James Garrett mentions this central aspect of the Kent State Conference. He recalls that:

> This was also one of the first times in five years that a strong Marxist force (supported by Sadaukai) was felt in nationalist circles. The Science and Technology wing of the Congress was attacked as being *bourgeois* and reactionary (a proposal was presented to change its focus from organizing scientists to organizing workers and peasants). This proposal was

> defeated by those present, but it did express the growing split inside the nationalist community.[60] (Emphasis and parenthesis in the original).

While Garrett demonstrates a lack of understanding of the thrust of the "proposal" as well as the manner in which it was "defeated by those present," he does-as he had to by March of 1975 - admit that the challenge was "strong" and "expressed a growing split in the nationalist community." Unfortunately, he exposes the bankruptcy of his analysis when he says that:

> Nineteen seventy three was the final year of Pan-Africanism as a slogan in the U. S. By mid-1973, the three most dynamic forces in Black progressive circles were Marxism, Women's Liberation and Nation of Islam.[61]

Although the Kent Conference was billed as the meeting in which the resolutions would be framed and the North American delegation would be chosen, no resolutions were ratified and no delegates were, in fact chosen. Even though there were some resolutions that could have been framed and adopted such as one in support of the African Liberation Movements in Guinea-Bissau and Southern Africa as well as one endorsing the Science and Technical Institute, the Secretariat seemed satisfied with the endorsement of the Institute in the Science and Technology workshop. Fearing opposition from this "strong Marxist force" it opted to make the critical decisions concerning the resolutions and delegate selection elsewhere. The conference ended on this note after numerous workshop reports. It was plain that the Secretariat came to hear and that the real decisions would be made in other circles.

In an undated communication that was sent out by Sylvia Hill of the Institute for African Education in St. Paul, Minnesota, (later to be appointed Secretary-General of the North American Regional Secretariat) we find the following:

> On May 11-13, 1973 about 150 Africans from across the U. S. and Canada met in Kent, Ohio. At this time, the Secretariat felt that the representation of a planning conference on the North American regional level

> represented too few people to begin to finalize the resolutions to be presented to the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Therefore, the planning activities were moved to a local level under the leadership of state coordinators.[62]

These state coordinators were to be chosen by the Secretariat on the basis of perceived ideological compatibility among other criteria. Of the process set into motion after Kent State, Garrett mentions in passing that:

> By November, the North American group was being organized by a group headed by James Turner of Cornell, Sylvia Hill from Minneapolis, and Julian Ellison of BERC in New York. North America was to be organized on a regional basis with delegates selected from within the regions.[63]

By November, Sylvia Hill was *appointed* to the position of Secretary General of the North American Regional Secretariat and James Turner was its Chairman.

VII. Southern Regional Forum

The Southern Regional Forum convened on February 23, 1974. It was a meeting consisting of participants from the southern part of the United States which included Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina, also Tennessee, Kentucky, and Arkansas. This meeting came about as a result of James Turner contacting Shelby Smith who was then and is presently a professor in the Political Science Department at Atlanta University. She then called together a working core of people for the specific purpose of convening the Southern Regional Forum. Among those who worked to plan and coordinate the one day meeting were Bernice Moore, Ricardo Millett, Donald Potts, James Turner (of Morehouse College) and Modibo Kadalie. The group represented differing ideological persuasions. This group was directly responsible for getting the over one hundred participants to the Atlanta University Center as well as planning the agenda.

Because the North American Regional Secretariat was also planning a meeting in Atlanta to coincide with the Southern Regional Forum others on the Executive Body of that formation also attended sessions of the Forum and participated in the ideological struggle that took place within the workshops and on the floor of the general sessions of this conference.

After the morning session consisting of remarks by Sylvia Hill and Kimathi Mohammed (formerly of Lansing, Michigan and now along with Kadalie based in Savannah and Atlanta, Georgia respectively). The Conference broke down into afternoon workshops. There were three workshops going on simultaneously. The workshop on Science and Technology was chaired by Ricardo Millett, Political Considerations for North America by Modibo Kadalie, and the Role of Africans Abroad in the Congress by Uga Onwuka. With Mohammed having spoken from the platform in the general session that morning, the left progressives carried that momentum into the workshop on Political Considerations for North America that afternoon.

Much of the time in the Political Considerations workshop was spent in an ideological struggle over a basic working document introduced by Mohammed and Kadalie (see appendix). The final document was adopted in an amended version.

Some of the pointed debate over certain questions that arose within the workshop is worth reproducing here. In some instances we will merely seek to give a general description of the nature of considerations raised in the course of discussion on a given issue. In other instances we will use the actual words of the participants in vivid counter-point as the discussion became pointed on certain questions. We are able to do this because the entire workshop's proceedings were recorded on audio tapes.

The discussions which centered around the position paper was organized into two parts. The first part dealt with clarifying questions. Here the workshop participants raised questions concerning what was the precise meaning of the body of the paper. The second part was devoted to substantive argument on points of disagreement about aspects of or on the basic propositions which were set forth in the document. This is where the bulk of the debate took place.

The very first clarifying point that was raised asked for a definition of the expression "African People's Movement"[64] as used in the text of the paper. It was stated that Africans in the world are workers or peasants. The discussion went further into racial, regional, ethnic and other related considerations. At this point a series of very specific questions were asked: "Are we talking about North Africans . . . are we talking about Algerians?"[65] It was agreed that the term "African Peoples" refers to the indigenous Africans who are not regarded as settlers, as well as the descendants of those brought to the new world as part of the slave trade.

The question was then raised regarding whether or not East Indians were to be considered as part of the "African People's Movement." It was agreed upon that to the extent that East Indians are faced with the same economic and political conditions as indigenous Africans they are defined as "Black" or "African." The foremost consideration here is that it is the objective political and economic position occupied by a given grouping of people called Africans within a broad social context either in peripheral continental Africa or the metropoles that gives the term its historical validity. This manner of casting it within the international class struggle serves to defend it against those who seek to narrow and politically sterilize it by defining it in terms purely related to racial, religious, ethnic, or simple regional consideration.

On this point this latter tendency was beaten back and a more progressive tendency prevailed even to the extend of including the indigenous peoples of the Continent of Australia and Oceania as Africans.[66]

When the substantive question of whether or not a position of support should be adopted regarding the embryonic struggles developing in the Caribbean against the neo-colonial governments there, Ed Vaughn, of the Pan-African Congress U. S. A. based in Detroit came forward with this comment:

> But the problem that is posed in the Caribbean is that the armed struggles usually against the very governments who would be represented at the Sixth Pan-African Congress, one in particular that gave ten thousand dollars to the Sixth Pan-African Congress. I think you better be careful in terms

> of how you word those kind of statements. I would suggest that we leave that out because what we are going to do is to interfere into the internal affairs of a sovereign black nation.[67]

In response to Vaughn's remarks Amechi Thomas a Black Activist affiliated with the Atlanta chapter of the African Liberation Support Committee offered the following:

> I would think that if we understand the nature of our oppression and the internal contradiction being class formations in our society be it in a particular nation or in the diaspora and the oppression by imperialism. We would have to mention support of progressive movements against neo-colonial governments. If we do not then we can only deal with the national character of Black people and not the social reconstruction of our people because as the conference was so named we are dealing with a post independent period which, in terms of post independent periods, we are really dealing with the social reconstruction
> of our people.
>
> For example, in the North American context we now have black mayors. But they do not act in the interest of the overall Black masses. Which means that we have to begin to make an analysis of that and clarify who is against the interest of our people. So I am saying that those progressive forces that are moving against reactionary governments would have to be supported, you know regardless of the feeling the people may have.[68]

At this point Vaughn replied in this manner:

> I don't think anyone disagrees with what the brother (Thomas) has said about the struggles in neo-colonial countries. But I think that we have got to go a step at a time. I mean we are catching hell just trying to defeat the Portuguese which is the poorest nation in Europe and when we greatly outnumber them, and also the South Africans . . . so-called South Africans. We have got to go a step at a time. If we can make that step, you know, then maybe the Seventh Pan-African Congress can deal with how we are going to clean

> our own house. I mean let's throw the crackers out first and then we will make a real decision to determine what we are going to do with ourselves. Because if we say any other thing then we are going to go in create a whole lot of conflicts with some of the same people that we are going to be talking about are going to be there as delegates and as members of this Congress. And I think that we have to minimize, as much as possible, these kind of conflicts, although they must be resolved. But I think that we better not start fighting among ourselves before we kick the Portuguese and all them other crackers out of Africa. We better concentrate on our own struggle.[69]

It should be mentioned here that these quotes are taken in their entirety from the discussion that went on in that workshop. This is done so that the reader can come to a full appreciation of the character of the debate.

Further on in the discussion of this issue, Thomas argued:

> First of all, the oppression of Black people do not come in stages. Like I said, we have the oppression of Black people by external forces and by imperialism and then you have the oppression of Black people by internal forces, by class formations, by those who work in relationship to the imperialist, you know is the national bourgeoisie of those particular areas. If you don't . . . like, for example, the revolutionary liberation armies in Southern Africa, not only do they drive the Portuguese out, but as soon as they drive the Portuguese out in an area they start social reconstruction. They want to instill . . . you know . . . they deal with what kind of society . . . you know . . they are going to build. You know now, if they wait until they get rid of the Portuguese and say, well, now we are going to try to build a socialist society fifty years from now, then the enclaves of capitalism will have developed to such a height where it would be harder to deal with that. You know, and particularly with Black people's situation in this country, you know, that our struggle is two fold. Not only do we have to, you know, deal with the white ruling class, but we have to deal with the Black petty-bourgeoisie who work in conjunction with that. We have to deal with not only the white policemen, but with black policeman who work with their constituency

> downtown. That is also in the Caribbean, you know, and let me raise this point, like for example, the invasion of Guinea (Conakry), or the attempted invasion of Guinea was not necessarily pushed by the Portuguese, although they had a direct hand. But if one looks at . . . (inaudible) closely that you had officers in the Ivory Coast and in Senegal to overthrow the progressive elements in Guinea which is to say that the imperialist not only work from Portugal, but they will work through Abidjan and Dakar to overthrow Sekou Toure. Not to recognize that is, to me, national chauvinism.[70]

The differences around this issue were eventually resolved by agreeing to word the sentence that makes up the third paragraph of the Position Statement in such a way that the armed liberation struggles in Southern Africa would be mentioned and supported explicitly and the struggles against neo-colonial regimes in the Caribbean and elsewhere in the world would be mentioned and supported implicitly. This was a meaningful exchange and a significant resolution.

The next set of differences to emerge in the session concerned the inclusion within the Position Statement of a sentence or clause condemning capital investment in Africa, particularly on the part of Black people, even in a limited way. The thrust of those progressives who sought to have such a statement included within the body of the document was not so much because this was a real danger in a concrete material sense, but that its ideological consequences could have an impact. It was agreed that such a sentence would go into the Statement at the very end of the document.

During the course of the debate around the investment controversy an interesting corollary question arose. The central figures in this exchange were, once again Thomas and Vaughn. Accordingly, Thomas raised his concern in the following manner:

> . . . I am quite sure that most people understand the role of a Black man being the ambassador from America when Obote was overthrown in Uganda., I am trying to make a point . . . I am quite sure that it is probably true that Black soldiers are training Portuguese soldiers who are shipped to America to be trained in guerilla warfare that they learned in

> Vietnam. And I am saying that not only do we mention the economic, you know, schemes that will hinder the development of a strong unified socialist Africa. But we also mention the political implications of those Blacks who work in the interest of the American state to instill neo-colonialism . . . which has had more of an effect than Black investment in African itself. And I think that ought to be mentioned.[71]

Vaughn in a revealing direct retort said:

> That is the very reason it should *not* be mentioned . . . You see, we don't want to go to Dar and start fighting with the African governments. Because what you are suggesting . . . is that . . . This is what will really happen. I agree with you one hundred per cent and this is what the Tanzanian government has been concerned about, and why they have been very leery about Black folks from here coming there because they thought that we were going to embarrass the other governments. And that we would do a lot of things, you know, . . . and we probably should but we have to be very tactful in how we do that. And I think that to bring it right into the open is going to plunge us into a big argument like we get into in this country over ideology every time we have a meeting or something . . . And it really doesn't serve any purpose in terms of dealing with the most crucial issues that face Africa and those are the basic ones of getting them crackers out. And, as I said, as soon as this is done and at the same time we deal with the other issue. Not wait until it's done . . . but be careful in terms of how we move on it.[72]

Of course, it can easily be seen that Vaughn sees the world in racial terms primarily and is therefore becoming an apologist for Black neo-colonial governments in general. On the other hand, Thomas was attempting to advance class as a primary consideration in developing an analysis of the position of African people in the world.

Although much was said during the course of the workshop, the sharpest debate took place between Thomas and Vaughn. It was for this reason that a fairly extensive set of quotes were used in order to capture the flavour and the flow of the session.

Other concerns that came up were questions related to the repression of the Black democratic movement in North America. It was agreed that a request should be made of progressive African governments to adopt a general policy of offering political asylum for political activists who might become political fugitives because of their anti-racist political activity.

This discussion led to a consideration of the political repression by African governments of progressive movements that were and would become active against their rule. Of course this returned us, once again to the major theme which was to be part of every issue that was brought up at the conference itself.

It was generally felt that we could not, as Black people in North America legitimately ask for political asylum unless we made a request that was sufficiently broad so as to include those progressive Africans that might be engaged in struggle against certain neo-colonial governments. As part of this discussion Kimathi Mohammed offered something that became more meaningful as preparations for the Sixth-PAC unfolded. Mohammed stated that:

> . . . the question of asylum is something that we don't have to spend too much time on. We look at the situation when Eldridge Cleaver got into trouble where did he run to? . . . Walter Rodney, where is he based at? Asylum is being dealt with . . . political asylum is being dealt with and there are some mechanical questions and there are some security questions that those governments are dealing with. In addition to the fact that people will be coming out of those neo-colonial areas who will be raising that particular concern about the political repression of say in Trinidad. Okay, or what is going on in Ethiopia. They will bring that before the body. At that point in time we will say that we support or we're opposed to what they say.[73]

As it happened the Ethiopian student's movement as well as the struggle against neo-colonialism in the Caribbean did become issues at the Sixth-PAC. This will be discussed in Chapter 9 of this effort.

The final item on the agenda of the workshop centred on the structure and the composition of the various delegations that were to

comprise the general body of the Dar-es-Salaam gathering - particularly the composition of the North American delegation. This agenda item flowed naturally form the preceding one since the class struggle and neo-colonialism again struck at the core of the matter.

It was agreed that not only should governments be represented but progressive organizational formations that are opposed to those governments should also be invited. Of course, this later proved to be impossible since it would compromise the diplomatic posture of the Tanzanian government with regard to those regimes. But at this point we did not have a full appreciation of the extent to which TANU was directing the preparations for the Congress. Something which would later emerge for all to see.

Opposing forces on this issue crystallized in clashing views on what was specifically meant by "progressive forces." Modibo Kadalie advanced the following notion as a criterion that could be used in making a judgement regarding the relative progressiveness of this or that struggling organizational formation. He said that:

> Groups struggling for worker and peasant control of the government . . . that is how you define progressive , , , progressiveness . . . whether or not the people who are doing the work, you know, are getting the benefits and are therefore ruling. So, I think that we... and just attach that. People who are struggling for, you know, more democratic representation in the government, you know, with the people who are doing the work - the workers and peasants.[74]

Vaughn suggested that the language in a statement should say more control of the government "by the people." To this the progressives retorted almost in unison, "No, capitalists are people, too."[75] At this point Vaughn excitedly stated that:

> . . . Well, you see, and there we go with ideology again. I don't want to get into it, but I am opposed to the (the words worker and peasant) I am opposed to the . . . of course you know (laughter) . . . I am opposed to the use of a lot of these , , , a lot of this terminology that is being espoused by the Marxist-Leninists all over the world. And if we are

> going to use the same terminology then we are going to be Black Marxists-Leninists which I am very sure a lot of Black folks are very proud of being. Unfortunately, I am not proud of being that. I am very proud of being.... A Pan-Africanist based on Garvey ideology. But now let me say this and that is that I think that we have to be very careful of how we use a lot of these terms because what we do is that we create class contradictions at this very same time when we talk about eliminating class contradictions. A lot of people in many of the African countries don't view themselves or see themselves as being in a working class or being a peasant class. I mean . . . they see themselves as simply people. I mean the class distinction are not as great, especially in tradition societies as you find them in advanced capitalist countries. I think we have got to be very careful how we structure that. You see . . . and so-called capitalist . . . I mean they are petty capitalists . . . I mean they would be capitalists because there aint't no nigger no capitalists in the world. So what I am saying is that we have to be very careful how we espouse and throw out these Marxist-Leninist terms. I think we have to . . . have to begin to develop our own terminology that relate to the real condition of our people on the continent . That's my thing.[76]

The controversy was resolved by agreeing to use the word "Masses" instead of "workers and peasants" or "people." Vaughn's last statement above provides us with a good example of the major elements of the position of the opportunistic right wing of the Pan-African movement that had exercised hegemony over most - if not all - of the previous meetings and forums held by Sixth-PAC organizers.

One final issue completed the agenda of the workshop on political concerns of the Southern Regional Forum. There were a number of structural issues that were raised, the most important of which was the manner in which delegate selection would take place. Of course, this was a crucial question since this process would directly affect the ideological composition of the North American Delegation as a whole. It was decided that the delegation should not be composed of those who could pay their own way since this would bias the ideological composition of the delegation in favour of privileged interests. Of course, it was argued by the right that having delegates pay their own

way was the most practical way to proceed because the air fare was about $800.00. The majority prevailed and it went into the record of the workshop that we are in opposition both to delegate selection taking place outside of a constituted local body and on the basis of ability to pay.

In the general session which took place later that afternoon James Turner, the appointed Chairman of the North American Regional Secretariat (NARS) was presiding. Sylvia Hill who was also appointed Secretary General of the (NARS) was also in attendance. Shelby Smith, one of the regional convenors was not associated directly with the NARS presided during the morning general session. The afternoon session proved to be very important because it was here that the position document that had come from the workshop on political concerns came up for adoption. With Turner in charge the possibility that bureaucratic blockage of the approval of the paper was very real. As it turned out his role at the Atlanta Regional Forum was very similar to the one that Cox played in stopping the adoption of the progressive paper that was introduced on the floor of the Kent State meeting.

The struggle that took place within the general session of the Atlanta conference was between the bureaucrats of the NARS who sought to maintain ideological hegemony by continuing to dominate all decision making regarding delegate selection and ideological position statements, and progressives who wanted to insure that delegate selection, as well as decisions relative to agreed upon ideological positions be carried out on a local level.

After the introduction of the workshop position document into the proceedings of the general body followed by some discussion, the attempts to block its passage began. Sylvia Hill commented from the floor that the document was incomplete because it does not outline any specific guidelines as to how the content of the document would be put into practice. She further stated that much more committee work needed to be done.[77] Later, after much discussion of the wording of the statement, Turner - undoubtedly thinking that enough people had raised enough questions about semantics to possibly kill approval - asked if the workshop wanted a vote for approval of the document by the general body. He then asked:

> Well, then I want to know if it is still the feeling then of the workshop that we can try to come to something that would be presented to this body for a vote or . . .[78]

The progressives at this point refused to back down. Kadalie in direct response to Turner's attempt to stop adoption stated that:

> Yes, I mean that's our intent . . . here again you know, it is one thing to get off into form devoid of content so what we are trying to do here - so we won't squabble over semantics and all that - is adopt the spirit of this particular document here. I know that many of us have differences with particular wordings. I have too. But the point is that what we are talking about is a consensus among ourselves on this. And what I am asking for is not something of each of our wording . . . if everybody wrote this document it would be different. We are simply asking for a general consensus about the spirit of this document and the *content* of it, as opposed to squabbling over the words that may or may not be included in the form that it represents at this time.[79]

At this point, Turner, in a tactical manoeuvre, took this statement and separated the form of the statement from the spirit of it and asked for a vote on the spirit of the document. It was raised from the floor that adopting of the "spirit" on something was unprecedented. Turner then retorted:

> Okay, brother we have been through that . . . (inaudible because of laughter). Usually, white folk or Europeans don't call it the 'spirit.' They call it the 'sense' of the motion. You know . . . so you get something. So let's see how the folks feel.[80]

In pushing the motion through in this form, Turner was seeking to block passage of the document itself while appearing to have its 'spirit' passed. This vague motion was passed. After the voting had taken place, the chair was challenged to clarify what was decided. Turner then advanced this interpretation of the vote:

> I think that, in a sense, what we have agreed to, as I understand it . . . that there would be no particular document in terms of the words . . . But that the group goes on record . . . you know, as representing their support of the kind of 'spirit' that the ideas represent . . . basically being opposed to imperialism, capitalism, and opposed to Blacks who would participate in support of imperialism.[81]

He then attempted to throw it into a North American Steering Committee meeting. He went on to say this:

> What we may ask then . . . we have a steering committee meeting this evening. That maybe Brother Modibo (Kadalie) would want to sit down and do a revision. So any of you that have some concerns may want to express that to him.[82]

This was plainly an open effort to deprive the local forum of any direct authority to make any decisions ideological or otherwise. Kadalie, in a direct response to what Turner had stated:

> No, this particular document here has a 'sense' and the form of the 'sense' is this (the document). The point I was making when we were talking about the 'spirit' of the document...if each one of us would draft up a separate document trying to express the same thing it would be a different document. But this document here came out of that workshop. You know, and the 'spirit' takes this form. Right, so what we are talking about is the 'spirit' of the document in this form.[83]

Turner simply said in response to this that what we had voted on was something different and went on to the next order of business. The right had once again used the chair to stifle what was a genuine progressive thrust.

Even with the difficulties coming from the obstructionist tactics of the right which had to be overcome in order to get something meaningful adopted, the Atlanta Regional Forum achieved many significant things. In the first place, the sharpness of ideological debate and contention reached a new high as many of the statements and propositions that were cited above as part of the workshop on political

concerns demonstrate. In the second place, the bureaucratic hierarchy that had developed as part of the pre-Sixth-PAC planning was challenged as never before. And finally, it became clear that it would be difficult for the North American Regional Steering Committee to appoint whom they wanted to the North American delegation from the southern region without facing stiff opposition.

On this last point, a full consideration of delegate selection was not completed as an agenda item when time ran out. The Southern Regional Forum was adjourned with this still up in the air. This was almost contrived by the NARS since they wanted to have the authority to do it by default. At this point the progressives called for the setting up of a Southern District Steering Committee in order to insure that delegate selection would be, at least, carried out within the Southern Region. This was approved by the general body. A meeting of this newly created structure was convened that same night.

VIII. Bureaucratic Manipulations After the Southern Regional Forum

As it worked out in practice the Southern Regional Steering Committee became merely a recommending body to the NARS who made the final decision regarding who became a delegate and who did not. In the following months, several major decisions were made directly concerning delegate selection in the southern region by the NARS by passing or reversing some decisions that were made by the Southern Regional Steering Committee.

The first and perhaps the most blatant move on the part of the NARS was to create an entirely new 'southern region.' This was done at the recommendation of Larry Farmer of Greenville, Mississippi who sent a memorandum to Modibo Kadalie, Chairman of the Southern Regional Steering Committee which he signed 'Larry Farmer, Mississippi *delegate* to the Sixth Pan-African Congress.'[84] To call himself a delegate seemed premature at this point since the delegate selection process had not yet been carried out in the Southern Region. In any event the Memorandum dated March 5, 1975 reads in part:

> On Thursday, February 28, 1974, the Mississippi delegation held a meeting to discuss the Southern Regional Meeting held at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia on February 23, 1974; and the state delegations role in Six PAC.
>
> Out of that meeting came a recommendation to the North American Regional Secretariat, calling for the formation of a new district in the south. The new district would consist of Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee, *with delegates being split equally* among the new district and those states remaining in the old district (Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Florida). (Emphasis added). (Parenthesis in the original).[85]

The memorandum continues and is quite revealing:

> On Tuesday, March 5, 1974, I spoke with Brother Jim Turner about the Mississippi Delegation's recommendation, at which time I was told by Brother Turner that, the Mississippi delegation's recommendation had been received favourably; and that those states which make up the new district, could begin to organize itself.
>
> Based on that, the Mississippi Delegation will not be participating in the Atlanta delegate selection meeting on Saturday, March 9, 1974 at Atlanta University.[86]

In an earlier memorandum to Sylvia Hill from the "Mississippi Delegation to the Sixth Pan-African Congress" dated March 1, 1974 the rationale for the formation of the New District was outlined. It spoke of:

> . . . building a strong state organization that will continue to function after the Sixth Pan-African Congress has taken place in Tanzania . . . How can the various skills of African people living within the Southeastern district be use(d) effectively to aid in the struggle of African people.(?)[87]

Here we see a hint of the real basis of the division of the Southern region. Fundamental ideological differences now showed through. The "Mississippi Delegation" represented a group of bureaucrats who

did not see the Sixth-PAC as the forum that it was to become but as an ongoing organization - a view that they shared with the NARS as well as most of the leadership of the planning formations. Furthermore, they demonstrated a technocratic bias that also revealed itself - again something that they held in common with the higher level organizers. It would logically follow that NARS would legitimize them thus diluting the marginal hegemony that progressives in the Southern region were able to demonstrate at the Atlanta Southern Regional Forum. Of course, the Southern Regional delegate selection structure was circumvented in the process of making this decision.

Left with six delegates and three observers and only recommending status to a "credentials committee" created by the NARS's office, the southern progressive's thrust was dealt with effectively. Even with the six delegates that the regional selection structure recommended, only three ended up being certified. They were John Mendez, Modibo Kadalie, and James Turner, (not to be confused with the Chairman of NARS).

IX. Eleventh Hour Politics

It is important to review some of the critical decisions that were made during the months just prior to the Convening of the Sixth-PAC in June of 1974. This can be most meaningfully done by first considering the rapidly unfolding events that were having a dramatic[88] effect upon the shifting polity which is rooted in the declining international capitalist system.

As a result of many years of armed struggle within the Portuguese colonies, the fascist Caetano government was overthrown. In Mozambique victory was imminent. The situation in Angola was much less clear, but even there independence was certain. In Ethiopia the archaic regime of Haile Selassie was overthrown in February of 1974 even though in June he remained alive. The situation there, at the convening of the Sixth-PAC was highly unstable. The junta which had enjoyed some popular support in its early days was beginning to meet with the leftist opposition as the OAU Heads of State meeting in Addis Ababa was disrupted by a leftist led anti-government protest demonstration.

Polarity within the Pan-African world was on the increase as revealed in the December meeting which was the second Caribbean

Regional Conference. At this meeting left progressives led by Geddes Granger, along with Tim Hector of Antigua, and Eusi Kwayana veteran radical from Guyana launched an ideological offensive against Caribbean heads of states. None of the governments in the Caribbean escaped their wrath except Cuba. Forbes Burnham came under heavy attack. This attack prompted him to write a letter to Nyerere in which he said that the second Caribbean Regional Conference was hosted by the government of Guyana as a gesture of goodwill toward TANU and the government of Tanzania. He went on to say that during the course of the meeting his government had been insulted and its policies condemned. Garrett describes the response of the Tanzanian government thusly:

> Tanzania found itself having to '*apologize*' for insults made by those in attendance at a meeting which it had in effect cosponsored (Paul Bomani was there as an official representative from TANU). (Italics in the original).[89]

Here we have a situation in which the progressives were condemning neo-colonialism quite emphatically. In addition, they were asking for separate delegations to the Congress. They wanted one for the "neo-colonial" states and one for themselves as opposition forces within those states. So it would seem that the progressives had the upper hand within the second Caribbean Regional Conference. The question now became what was the international leadership now going to do?

The Atlanta situation, as you will recall was being "handled" at the same time. In the Atlanta case where progressiveness became a threat, the southern regional delegation was simply watered down by a series of bureaucratic manoeuvres. But the threat was much more serious in the Caribbean. Therefore, more serious measures had to be undertaken.

The preceding brings into perspective the eleventh hour moves of TANU, the Government of Tanzania, and the Temporary Secretariat. In a desperate attempt to resolve the situation Courtland Cox went to Guyana on two separate occasions during this period (February and March), once with Gesiler Mapunda, the Political Education director for TANU, and the second with C. L. R. James.[90] Garrett maintains

that at this point Cox and TANU "felt that both Burnham and Kwyana should be involved in the Congress."[91] On the one hand this proposition is believable if we are talking about the personalities "Burnham" and Kwyana." However, if we refer to two separate certified delegations from Guyana, a governmental one led by Burnham and another opposed to the government led by Kwyana, neither Cox nor TANU would support this, especially at this point.

It is unclear what transpired on the two visits to Guyana made by Cox. What is clear, however, is what happened afterwards. Faced with the developing situation as partly sketched above, TANU and the weak "Temporary Secretariat" established an "International Steering Committee" on the eve of the Congress to make last minute policy concerning the rules of the Congress. Moreover this new committee (which was now the highest policy making body within the loose structure) was made up of representatives from all of the OAU approved liberation movements and; Algeria, Cuba, Egypt, Guinea (Conakry), Nigeria, and Tanzania.

Garrett contends that these eleventh hour decisions represent major policy reversals on the part of TANU. He says that:

> The criteria for delegations from Black states were changed and now consisted of: government delegations; delegations from ruling parties; Liberation movements; and delegates and guests found not objectionable to the governments or ruling parties of states from which they came. This decision totally changed the framework in which the Sixth-PAC began.[92]

The implication here is that this policy represents something new and different from earlier policy. This would have been an understandable misinterpretation if it had not been the tacit policy from the very beginning of the organizational work of the leadership bodies at all levels within the Sixth-PAC planning structure. Look back, there was always an attempt to systematically exclude progressives or those with a class view of Pan-Africanism. But the fact that this eleventh hour policy was *consistent* with the manner in which the Congress was being organized calls Garrett's interpretation of

the move into question.

Seeing what he perceived as a betrayal, C. L. R. James resigned from the Congress at this point. Of James' decision Garrett tells us:

> He (James) knew that the decision by the International Steering Committee would eliminate the Black progressive/ nationalists from the Caribbean. James was also upset that Cox, the only representative from the original organizing group, did not take a more forceful stand-perhaps resign. Cox felt that, for better or worse, the Congress had to take place, and that nothing could be gained by his dropping out.[93]

James had no other principled choice but to resign given his own political history in the Caribbean. He had consistently maintained that he wished to attend the Congress as a non-governmental delegate from the Caribbean. In this sense he stood for an open Congress. But the manner is which the organizing efforts had proceeded did not really, at any point, indicate that it would be open except for the liberation struggles and certain progressives that might become part of delegations from metropolitan societies. Organizing activity relied heavily upon officials of governments along with their diplomatic corp. The instances of organizing among progressives and other opposition forces were scattered, token, and symbolic in nature. At no time was it encouraged.

Within the organizing activity in North America the policy was to never say or produce any document saying anything offensive to any of the African governments. James's support of the policies of the Tanzanian government are also interesting in this regard. Even James himself was part of this policy. At the Kent State meeting he advised and consciously discouraged the progressives there against proposing a resolution which was the embodiment of a class interpretation of the historical experience of African people which the concept of "Pan-Africanism" defines.

At that conference James himself attempted to advance a similar line of thought within the workshop and floor discussion in which he took part. His differences with the progressives centered around the

tactical question of introducing a fully developed resolution at this point in the planning for the Congress defining Pan-Africanism in class terms. He thought that certain governments would be alienated prematurely. It should be emphasized, at this point, that the overwhelming evidence tends to show that James consistently maintained a principled open Congress position throughout that part of the preiminary organizing activity within which he was directly involved. It is therefore, to his everlasting credit that he made a last minute decision to resign when faced with the newest decision by the International Steering Committee which was based upon an old policy - a policy which James had consistently opposed. He simply decided that he would no longer allow himself to be used - symbolically or otherwise.

With regard to Cox, Garrett tells us that Cox remained "for better or worse," and that he (Cox) saw that nothing would be accomplished if he were to resign. Well, that would be believable if Cox had made a statement regarding the particular exclusion of the Caribbean progressive delegations after the Congress had convened or even after the Congress had adjourned. No such statement was released. We, therefore, are left with the conclusion - especially in light of his style of organizing, and his attempts at every turn to block progressive statements and participation - that he was in agreement with the undergirding policy on which the International Steering Committee decision was based. We might also conclude that even though he may have been reluctant in doing so, if he were to be consistent with his past activity, he had to agree with the decision itself.

And so after much debate and much posturing within many meetings - large and small - in which the ideological questions of our time were discussed directly and indirectly, the Sixth Pan-African Congress was convened in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania on June 19, 1974.

Notes

1. James Garrett, "A Historical Sketch: The Sixth Pan-African Congress," *Black Scholar*, (March, 1975).

2. Horace Campbell, ed., *Pan-Africanism: Struggle Against Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism*, (Better Read Graphics, Toronto, 1975).

3. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
6. Garrett, p. 6.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
14. *Ibid.*,. p. 10.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
38. *Ibid.*
39. "Domiabra, If You Love Me Join Me," *The Daily Gleaner*, Tuesday, February 20, 1973.
40. The Regional Secretariat for the Caribbean and South America, *General*

Report on Regional Planning Conference Mimeo, February 14-19, 1973, p. 1.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Garrett, p. 17.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

45. *The Regional Secretariat, op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

46. The Regional Secretariat, *General Report*, pp. 6-9.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

50. *Ibid..*, pp. 5-6.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

54. Modibo Kadalie and Kimathi Mohammed et. al., "Establishment of Science and Technological Institute," *Draft Resolution*, mimeo, May 12, 1973, Kent, Ohio.

55. *Ibid.*

56. We wanted the ideological struggle which was being contained by right hegemony to come out of the floor of the General Body convened at Kent State. We, therefore, wanted to present a resolution/statement with which the largest number of leftist elements could unite. In this regard the resolution was toned down so that our class perspective would come out in what we were proposing in the concrete as well as what we were identifying as the contemporary political reality in the vast majority of the peripheral Pan-African world.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. Garrett, p. 18.

61. *Ibid.*

62. Information in a form letter to the author from Sylvia Hill of the Institute for African Education in St. Paul, Minnesota, undated, 1973.

63. Garrett, p. 18.

64. Workshop on Political Concerns, "Position Statement" (mimeographed paper, Atlanta, Georgia, 1974), p. 1.

65. Workshop on Political Concerns, Southern Regional Forum, (Audio Tape Recording, Atlanta, Georgia, February 23, 1974).

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. "Afternoon General Session," Southern Regional Forum, (Audio Tape Recording, Atlanta, Georgia, February 23, 1974).
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*
84. Information in a Memorandum to the author from Larry Farmer of the Mississippi Delegation, March 5, 1974.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*
87. Information in a memorandum to Sylvia Hill of the North American Secretariat from the Mississippi Delegation, March 1, 1974.
88. *Ibid.*
89. Garrett, p. 19.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*
92. Garrett, p. 20.
93. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 9

The Sixth Pan-African Congress and the Struggle Over Issues

The differences between representatives of the various class forces that were assembled in Kwame Nkrumah Hall on the campus of the University of Dar-es-Salaam as the Sixth-PAC was called to order can be seen in the various interpretations of the purpose of the Congress itself. Our analysis will begin with the discussion of these differences in light of further discussion around the specific nature of the African ruling classes. We cannot go any further until this is done less we create more confusion on this and related matters. From there we will go to an examination of the different points of view on the relationship between the Sixth-PAC and the OAU. An evaluation of this question will, of course, illuminate our comprehension of the different class perspectives on the purpose of the Congress. Following this, a section of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the struggle over the issue of the exclusion of certain non-governmental delegations and how that fits into the ongoing ideological struggle within the Congress. Continuing from there, a section is included concerning the class nature of the liberation struggles as well as the class implications of the support that they were getting or were not getting from certain quarters. The primary focus here is the nature of the class struggle within those organizational formations themselves and the extent and nature of the international support that they have been able to generate within the larger Pan-African world which is itself an international manifestation of the class struggle. And finally, rounding out this chapter is a discussion of the role that class played in the debate over the issue of science and technology at the Congress.

I. The Specific Nature of the African Ruling Classes

In Chapter 7 we began to address the basic problem of the nature of the African ruling classes which have state hegemony within the

capitalist periphery. We did not however, come to any definitive conclusion about a historically accurate designation of these class forces. At this point it is essential that we do this. Concepts like "conduit stratum" and "client formation" and other vague generalities that were used in Chapter 7 will not serve us here.

In the earlier sections of this effort where we began our discussion of the nature of the African ruling classes we did, however reach several valid conclusions. On the basic conclusions from which any analysis of this question must proceed is the fact that the local ruling classes operate within the context of the international capitalist system and the state hegemony that they exercise is dictated and limited by the logic of this international system. On the other hand, they have some genuine regional control and can move relatively independently within the broader limitations placed upon them by international capital. The state through which the various ruling classes exert their authority is a form of the nation state which is the creature of the bourgeoisie. It therefore, belongs to the capitalist epoch. Nzongola-Ntalaja, a Zairian political scientist, is informative on this point. He writes this concerning the international position of the pro-imperialist African ruling classes:

> Operating in an underdeveloped country within the world capitalist system, it is an element, however small, of international capital (hence a capitalist bourgeoisie). Its alliance with the metropolitan bourgeoisie results from the fact that in spite of the internationalization of capital under imperialism the nation state remains the indispensable arena of economic exploitation.[1]

Nzongola-Ntalaja's emphasis upon the state as the key to understanding the nature of the class struggle within the capitalist periphery is a sound approach, and for that reason his use of the category "state bourgeoisie" possesses the capacity of giving to us a real vantage point from which we can appreciate the tactical options open within the international political dynamics for these African bourgeois rulers. On this point, so vital to our effort, Nzongola-Ntalaja offers the following insight speaking of the Zairian bourgeoisie:

> . . . the basic goals of the Mobutu regime since 1966 has been to reinforce its bargaining power vis-a-vis foreign monopoly capital in order to provide the Zairian bourgeoisie a solid economic base. The establishment and maintenance of this economic base requires of the bourgeoisie of any Third World country whose links to foreign monopoly capital are still strong, a complex strategy of conflict and cooperation vis-a-vis the masses, on the one hand, and toward the international bourgeoisie, on the other.[2]

This state bourgeoisie which exists and takes many different forms (owing to the particular character of capitalist impact as well as various internal development dynamics among other things) within the peripheral world is dependent upon the metro bourgeoisie; but this dependency is not a static state of dependency. It has a dynamism of its own.

Although we have been guilty of using the term "state petit-bourgeoisie" along with certain other designations to refer to the African ruling classes, we will endeavour to be more precise and consistent from this point onward in our use of the term "state bourgeoisie."[3]

We have, throughout our analysis of the significance of the Sixth-PAC, maintained the position that the forum occurred in an attempt to consolidate right opportunistic neo-colonialist forces within the Pan-African world. It therefore, to a large extent, was an extension of state diplomatic policy within African ruling circles. This is where Nzongola-Ntalaja's propositions has led us. It is here that a proper and meaningful discussion of the international class struggle and the Sixth-PAC must be placed. Again, to the extent that the bankrupt policies of the African (that includes the Caribbean Black state bourgeoisies) ruling classes were exposed by progressives the Congress could be counted a success.

One additional consideration needs to be mentioned here before we begin our actual account of the issues that were part of the Sixth-PAC. It deals once again with the most meaningful designation of the African ruling groups. As is evident, much of the most important analytical information is derived from essays written by Walter Rodney and

Horace Campbell. While there is much general agreement with many of their more basic formulations, there are many problems that arise with the reckless use of their term the "petit-bourgeoisie" when referring to the African ruling class. For one thing it does not reveal a full appreciation for the pervasive character and consequence, of the state and state policy in the life of an under-developed society. Nor does it reflect the dynamic interdependency that these classes have shown within the international arena. And although there are many other problems that are associated with the unspecified use of the term, the fact that even within the capitalist periphery the political forms that we are dealing with are relatively powerful bourgeois nation states.

The term "petit-bourgeoisie" does do two things quite well, however. In the first place, it gives some notion of the class origin of the basic elements that go to make up this state bourgeoisie. And in the second place, it draws our attention to an unmistakable aspect of this class, that is its middle man role within the international capitalist system. Though its class origin is essentially petit-bourgeois, its present class being is quite different from being merely petit-bourgeois. Its' international role is more than simply a middle man within the international capitalist system.

II. Different Purposes for Different Class Forces

We have seen that the African state bourgeoisies and their allies had a purpose in calling for a Sixth-PAC and left progressives had something different in mind as they decided to participate in it. Therefore to argue, as many analysts have, that the Congress had a single monolithic purpose or even a two-fold one, as many others have attempted to show, is to miss the real point. This naive and simplistic approach tends to give away their own ideological prospective which reveals their unclothed sympathies for all class unity. This general view negates the most essential class conflict that was very much a part of the Sixth-PAC . It ends up not being an analysis at all but a mere wish for some idealized harmony between and among "Black folk." The Sixth Pan-African Congress was not a "folk gathering" to serious political activists. A more useful, realistic, and meaningful approach, which is the one taken here, is to affirm that there were

and should have been many different purposes reflective of, again, the dynamic configuration of class forces locked in struggle within the contemporary African world. We will try to demonstrate this living conflict by taking a quick look at the various positions of these social currents with regard to specific issues that arose in one fashion or another at the Sixth-PAC. We will here evaluate such questions as the relationship between the Congress and the OAU, the exclusion of certain non-governmental delegates, the role and nature of the liberation struggles, the class nature of their support, and the significance of technology in the struggle for African unity. By posing the questions in this manner we will be able to see certain dimensions of the sharp differences in principle as well as to appreciate the tactical considerations on the part of different forces as the Congress unfolded.

i. The OAU and the Sixth-PAC

On the questions of the relationship between the OAU and the Sixth-PAC, most of the positions could be reduced to three, with most of the Liberation Organizations staying away from this controversy for obvious tactical reasons. The positions were as follows: 1) Those who thought that the Congress was unnecessary because of the existence of the OAU which was the legitimate mechanism that is bringing African unity to the continent; 2) those who saw the need for the Congress primarily because the scope of the OAU does not include certain right wing elements within the African Liberation Organizations, the Black petit-bourgeoisie in the United States or the Caribbean- those who hold this position are not opposed to the OAU, but rather they see a trans-oceanic OAU made up of African heads of pathologically diminutive state formations coming together recognizing and affirming the sovereignty of these essentially reactionary political entities; and 3) those who hold the position that the OAU stands in the way of African Unity and progress primarily because it legitimizes these same states that are the mere extension of metropolitan capitalist states. As such their state boundaries merely define and give political form to a system that insures the continued flow of commodities produced by African labour and the exploitation of other African resources to North America, Europe, and to a lesser

extent Japan, thus locking Africa into a subordinate position within the world capitalist system.

Proponents of the first view outlined above, generally viewed the Congress as leftist because "most of the aims of the Pan-African Movement were achieved after the 1945 Manchester meeting."[4] For the most part this viewpoint was not openly advocated at the Congress, however, there were those who indirectly put forth the essence of this argument by extolling the great work of the OAU in the African cause. For our purposes it is not necessary to dwell in any great detail on this distinctively minority position since it was not one of the poles of any serious ideological contention.

The polarity of the struggle over this issue was drawn between the holders of the second and third views. No less than TANU and Julius K. Nyerere, the hosts of the Congress became the articulators of the second view and therefore the advocates of a right opportunist position of this question. On the front page of the June 27, 1974 issue of the *Tanzanian Daily News,* in an article dedicated to Nyerere's position on the relationship between the Congress and OAU, we find:

> On the outcome of the Sixth Pan-African Congress, Mwalimu hoped that there would be a rededication to continuing the war against colonialism and racism that was started by the pioneers of Pan-Africanism. He also expressed the hope that *the current deliberations would lead the OAU to concern itself with racialism outside Africa.* (Emphasis added).

The article goes on to say:

> Arguing against the establishment of a permanent secretariat for the PAC Mwalimu told the Pressman that he would like to see the permanence of the Congress. Instead of creating an institution outside the OAU, the latter should be able to accept the Congress as one of its activities. In this way, he said, the interest of committed individuals and groups outside Africa would be taken care of.[5]

What does Nyerere mean by "committed individuals and groups outside Africa?" If he means progressives committed to the overthrow

of capital, then what he is saying here is creditable. But the evidence is to the contrary. Caribbean progressives were excluded from Congress participation with the sanction of TANU and by implication, Nyerere himself. A further indictment of the position of TANU on this question and the position of Nyerere himself can be found in his speech to the Congress in which he never clearly came out against neo-colonialism. In it we find such statements as:

> For most delegates here have been sent by the people's governments of African and Caribbean states - governments which only exist because of the work of individuals, like those who founded the Congress movement.[6]

Here Nyerere seems to be saying that the African and Caribbean states represented at the Congress are popular governments for the most part. Of course this is far from being accurate.

He continues by recognizing certain "problems."

> . . . For it is already only too clear that the governments of Africa and the Caribbean are no more composed of angels than any other government. . . . This Congress is not a forum for attacks on particular governments. But it would be failing in its duty if it did not recognize the need for a demand that justice be done within the newly dependent nations as well as in the older countries.[7]

It appears that Nyerere has once again posed an essentially political question in moral terms. The question is not whether this or that government is "composed of angels" but which class does it serve. Contrast what Nyerere has said with what Sekou Toure says in his recorded presentation(He did not attend). There seems to be a qualitative difference here though many have not seen fit to focus on the differences between the two. Toure informs us that:

> Since revolutionary Pan-Africanism basically refers to an Africa of Peoples it is in its interest to uphold the primacy of Peoples as against states. States, when they are of the people, constitute the instrument for carrying out the will and decisions

> of the people, but when they are of the exploiting classes they constitute the instruments for carrying out decisions against the people; and we cannot but observe that the States in the area covered by Pan-Africanism are far from being those of the people or being faithful to the people.[8]

But perhaps the strongest argument for the third position (outlined above) came from Imamu Baraka. Unencumbered by tactical restraints, as in the case of the Liberation Organizations, or diplomatic manuevering within the OAU itself, Baraka sets forth that:

> For ideological clarity and discussion between contending schools of thought we cannot have structures copying the OAU. We are not here to listen to praise and flattery about progress made by this or that government which some delegations have been doing about their respective governments.
>
> . . . We need different structures. I am therefore disappointed that revolutionary internationalists from the Caribbean have been excluded from the Conference.
>
> . . . We must look at the weakest link of imperialism. It is in Africa. We must set about the creation of a truly revolutionary organization, a Pan-African organization to spearhead the coming socialist revolution.[9]

While there is very little in Nyerere's speech that the various right state bourgeoisies and their supporters could disagree with, Sekou Toure and Imamu Baraka drew the line clearly on this basic question.

An additional point needs to be made here, in order to bring more validity to an assertion made earlier in the presentation. The African Liberation Organizations were placed within the camp of the progressives. Where were they on this question? We have already said that they were understandably silent. There is, however, some evidence of uneasiness on the part of the freedom fighters of southern Africa with the ideological postulates that reinforces the pro-imperialist rulers of the reactionary African nation-states, and, by implication, the neo-colonialism of the OAU. Mercelino dos Santos, speaking for the Frelimo

delegation in a prepared speech delivered before the general body, remarked in a merciless attack upon these reactionary state formations and their helm's men:

> We cannot found a people's state with its laws and administrative machinery that were wholly designed by the exploiter. One cannot be govern by a state set up to oppress the masses and still serve the masses. To Africanize colonialist and capitalist power would be to make our struggle meaningless.[10]

It could therefore be concluded from this that the Liberation Organizations have serious ideological and class differences with the OAU though many of them remained somewhat quiet on the specific question of the relationship of the Sixth-PAC to OAU.

Generally speaking then, there is preliminary evidence to support the contention that TANU and the convenors of the Congress saw that the OAU as it is presently was too limited in scope, for their purposes. Therefore, the Congress was called to aid in the consolidation and institutionalization of a mechanism to serve as a means of legitimizing neo-colonial forces within the Liberation Movements themselves in continental Africa, within the Caribbean in the form of reactionary state formations - outside of continental Africa, and the right petit-bourgeoisie within metropolitan North America-outside of continental Africa as well. But in class terms, the Congress was convened by representatives of the Pan-African state bourgeois stratum in order to strengthen its position within the Liberation Movements as well as outside of continental Africa. It therefore, became the task of progressives to block such attempts at this reactionary consolidation by waging ideological struggle within the forum that was the Sixth Pan-African Congress. To the extent that this was achieved, has become the principal criterion by which progressives are beginning to judge their effectiveness on the ideological and diplomatic front.

It would seem that further consideration of the issues taken up by the Congress, in order for our analysis to take its most complete form, it must be evaluated in light of this paramount thematic contention. Hereafter, the Congress will be viewed as the ideological struggle that it

was between the right state bourgeoisie-those who seek and support pro-imperialist local state hegemony- and left revolutionary Pan-African socialists - those who seek the state hegemony of the workers and peasants under scientific socialism.

ii. The Exclusion of Certain Delegates

The continuing struggle between the two currents identified above again took its shape within a dispute over the seating and the exclusion of certain congressional delegations. There were essentially two topics of controversy which came up; although they did not reach the floor for resolution, they were acted upon. The first was the seating of the Cuban delegation and the second was the exclusion of the non-governmental Caribbean delegations. Cuba was seated and the non-governmental Caribbean delegates remained excluded. These policies appeared to flow from *a priori* decisions reached by the host political organization-TANU-in conjunction with the leadership of the "Temporary Secretariat."

Consistent with the over-all purpose of the right wing forces of legitimizing the governments of the Caribbean they had to seat Cuba. Since the Cuban government is a government, in order to be true to a relatively consistent line of reasoning - even in the face of some pressure from an ultra-right red baiting section within its own ranks. The rightists logically agreed that the Cuban delegation should be seated with all of the rights of any other delegation. Put simply, they were seated to justify the exclusion of the left (non-governmental) Caribbean delegation and because they are a government. Progressives agreed with this move because they are a "socialist" people's government.

Interestingly enough, there was also some limited amount of objection on the part of some from this same ultra-right section within the pro-imperialist camp against the seating of Arab state delegations. In an internal struggle of little consequence within the right wing itself the narrowness of this tendency was defeated.

But now let us turn to a more controversial point of contention where there was sharp disagreement between the pro-imperialist forces and the progressives. The matter concerning the exclusion of non-

governmental representatives cuts to the heart of the intra-Pan-African class struggle.

In a communique issued by the excluded Caribbean-South American Steering Committee to the Sixth Pan-African Congress and distributed by progressives at the Congress, after stating that the two international sponsors, C. L. R. James and Eusi Kwayana had been deceived into thinking that the Congress was to be a "People's Congress,"[11] we find:

> The Secretary General (Courtland Cox) returned to Guyana to attend a meeting of the Steering Committee fixed by us on dates available to him. At that meeting he said (speaking to the convenors) that unless TANU could be satisfied about what we are going to say at the Congress, TANU might frown on our attendance.[12]

TANU and the Temporary Secretariat were thus implicated in a conspiracy to bar non-governmental representatives from Congress participation. The communique held fast to the principle of open and free participation of non-governmental peoples' delegations as it went on to say:

> We will understand that a host country would have concerns about the conduct of a conference. But we could see the Caribbean (non-governmental) only as a delegation equal in status to any other delegation participating in the Sixth Pan-African Congress. We could not accept the status of an inferior Caribbean and South American Region.[13]

The communique then went on to establish the linkage between the tactics of the rightists and international capital. It says:

> that all of the manoeuvres resulting in our exclusion would be explained in one phrase - Imperialism - that same imperialism which has harassed our main Caribbean associates in the United States, through the F. B. I. and which has subjected our contacts to ceaseless interrogation on the Caribbean Steering Committee.[14]

On this basis the legitimacy of the Congress itself was justifiably called into question:

> We see it not as a meeting of African people and their allies, but as a government - dominated meeting, which is not the meeting as conceived by any of the Sponsors.[15]

The communique ends with an appeal to progressives to commence the ideological struggle within the context of the meeting, after calling for free and open participation on the part of the Liberation Movements. It continues:

> We demand that the Liberation Movements, whatever their concept of the conference, be given full scope for the expression of what they wish to present.
>
> . . . We, however, wish that the positive and genuine elements at the Dar-es-Salaam meeting will prevent our negative elements and that the meeting will "recreate in Africa a climate hostile to Imperialism" and deliver crushing blows against the enemies of African people and all oppressed mankind.[16]

Though the class lines were drawn on this issue it did not result in a confrontation primarily because progressives tactically acquiesced, hoping for a greater ideological victory within the Congress itself, rather than throwing it into pandemonium at that point.

The demand by the excluded delegates from the Caribbean that the Liberation Movement's representatives be given unhampered participation within the meeting is indicative both of the progressive nature of their tendency and of their perception of the reactionary role of a restricting state bourgeois rightist tendency. This leads us logically to the third issue under consideration here.

iii. Differences in Class View of the Nature of the Liberation Struggles

The existence and successes of the African Liberation Struggles in the world today has left in their wake great polarity regarding their significance and nature. This divergence of views has led to differing kinds of aid and different degrees of commitment to the support of

armed liberation struggle. Just as in the case of any divergence of views, this one is more than a mere divergence of views. It is the manner in which, once again, differing class interests and aims are revealed at the diplomatic and ideological levels.

African neo-colonial forces see in the liberation movements a struggle for the constitutional "independence" which serves to set up a state which is the instrument of their class (the petit-bourgeoisie) rule and the continued oppression of the producing masses. Scientific Pan-African socialists, on the other hand, see that the African Liberation Movements are, in fact, genuine struggles for national independence which is a struggle to create a self-determining socialist society with the instruments of state power increasing reflecting the control of the producing masses over their conditions of labour and over the principle means of production.

The struggle of these opposing ideas about the nature and aims of these movements has resulted in increased polarity and intensive ideological struggle within the liberation organizations themselves as the struggle matures and gathers momentum resulting in a generalized increase in polarity throughout the Pan-African world and the world at large as they continue their armed insurrections. Much of what has been happening now within the Pan-African movement is traceable directly to the successes of these movements; and indeed, the Sixth-PAC itself owes much or the motion that resulted in its occurrence to them.

While a significant part of the support from African regimes remains nominal, the liberation struggles have forced the state bourgeoisies, as classes which are generally opposed to armed violence, to reluctantly affirm the legitimacy of revolutionary armed force as a means of obtaining national independence. These forces were pushed from the *Lusaka Manifesto* of 1969, which was not a very useful statement since it did not affirm the legitimacy of armed violence, to the *Mogadishu Declaration* of 1971 which firmly supported and affirmed the tactical validity of the armed insurrection; by the recognized successes of the African masses under the leadership of the liberation organizations in one short year.

Africa's Black client rulers were, therefore, placed in a dilemma by the movement of the masses. On the one hand, they had to affirm

revolutionary violence as valid for liberation from colonialism. On the other, they were finding it increasingly difficult to justify the brutal reactionary violence which is an indispensable part of their continued class rule more often than not, through open fascistic military dictatorships.

We, therefore, find the Pan-African imperialist created local ruling class formations engaging in rhetorical diplomatic theatrics which often take on what appears to be bizarre and contradictory forms. For instance, the reactionary military dictatorship of Al Hajj Idi Amin is often heard calling for an invasion of Southern Africa under the leadership of his mercenary army which is armed, trained, equipped, and paid to keep the client class that he represents in power. The maintanence of his regime is achieved by open, deliberate, and brutal repression of any and every other force within Uganda which might rise to challenge the illegitimate authority of his government. If taken seriously, the obvious implication of Amin's threat is that continental state bourgeois military power is what would bring national independence to Southern Africa not the armed People's Wars carried out by the Liberation Organizations. Carrying this point further, Rodney has written:

> Even the slightly more palatable call for individual volunteers casts doubt on the capacity of Africans in the South to effect their own liberation. Significantly enough, these statements do not originate with any of the Liberation Movements. None of the Liberation Movements has called for anything other than material, diplomatic and moral support. They have the fighters - that is not the problem.[17]

While Amin and his advocacy of military invasion as well as those who advocate massive numbers of volunteers as an essential or important tactical ingredient in the liberation of Southern Africa may be a bit far fetched to illustrate the general point that a very real danger of neo-colonial consolidation within the liberation struggle exists. That, nevertheless, is the logical conclusion to be drawn from those statements.

More often than not though, right opportunists forces are more surreptitious than that. Let us examine closely what is behind the

"support" that is given to the Liberation Organizations. Rodney again warns that:

> . . . A serious problem does arise when offers of assistance to the struggle are used to camouflage attempts to penetrate and control on the part of imperialism and its lackeys. When "Our Man in Kinshasa" (Mobutu) appears in the role of supervisor, umpire and builder of the Angolan people's movement, it hardly requires a great deal of political acumen to sense the pricking of one's thumbs.[18]

It is generally agreed that the protracted wars of liberation waged within the colonies led directly to instability within and the eventual toppling of the then ruling fascist Portuguese regime. The fact that pressure began to be brought to bear upon the Liberation organizations fighting in Mozambique and Angola to accept coalition governments with overt counter-revolutionaries is evidence of American imperialist double-dealing behind closed doors. Horace Campbell, the Jamaican activist, has this to say on the point:

> The more important event was the crumbling of the fascist Caetano regime in Portugal, when pushed by the armed might of African peasants in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. After the coup in Portugal, the U. S. was bent on pressuring the freedom fighters to accept independence - one which meant a new flag, a new anthem, but the same old poverty and wretchedness.[19]

Campbell goes on to point out specific instances of pressure brought by the OAU and the Mulungushi Club. The latter being composed of the countries of Tanzania, Zaire, and Zambia which have consented to allow freedom fighters to use their territory as base areas. He writes:

> . . . On May 25, (1974) Yakubo Gowan, of oil rich Nigeria, the Chairman of OAU, echoed his master's (the U. S.) voice and urged the liberation movements to accept the "goodwill" of the Portuguese and put down their arms. The Mulungushi Club, with the veiled threats of cutting off assistance, urged Frelimo to enter into a coalition government with Portugal.

> The South Africans and the Americans are at present seeking to ferment divisions in the ranks of Frelimo by calling for "educated and responsible" leadership in an effort to isolate the progressive guerilla leaders who had not been miseducated in Western European Universities.[20]

It seems clear that in Frelimo and in the PAIGC progressives were sufficiently rooted to withstand any significant counter-revolutionary threat by rightist neo-colonial forces. But in the case of Angola the story was quite different. Because at that time it appeared to most that there was no single Liberation Organization with a base that was truly national in scope the threat of what many have called a fratricidal civil war was very real.

This highly unstable Angolan political situation which was reflective of a badly split ascendant state bourgeoisie gave the imperialists great room for maneuvering, as Malik Chaka points out:

> The threat of a fratricidal civil war looms large in Angola. Forty thousand settlers are reportedly under military training in South African held Nambia. With the support of the imperialists, they could cause a repeat of the Congo Crisis which immobilized Africa in the 1960's.[21]

While the general thrust of Chaka's remarks can serve us, they leave much to be explained in more specific detail. Of course, we have to be mindful of the fact that he was writing prior to the outbreak of the Angolan Civil War and many of the rich historical lessons of that experience were not available to him.

While at that time (1975) it did appear to many observers that there was "not a truly national party"[22] many other observers agreed that the MPLA came closer to being a political organization with a genuine national base of support. As it turned out the Angolan Civil War was more than a simple "fratricidal struggle." For many reasons the MPLA proved itself to be a real national front made up of many of the smaller political groupings and strata which cut across tribal and ethnic lines.

In the Angolan situation we have a fragmented ascendent client stratum various sections of which were supported by various imperialist

and white settler interests along with some simply confused elements within the socialist camp. This fragmentation was taking place along regional and ethnic lines with one broad front type organization emerging to represent the national aspirations of the Angolan people. White settlers along with neo-colonial interests backed a more narrow regional opportunistic emerging client stratum.

It should be mentioned here that although there is some limited conflict between the interests of local white- usually agrarian settlers- and those of imperialism, in the long run their interests are the same. Needless to say, a failure to grasp the role of the white settler population within the overall political apparatus of classical colonial rule can lead to errors in analysis. As we have seen in Angola and Mozambique, this dimension of the social struggle that characterizes the historical development of these areas as well as the whole of Southern Africa is of vital importance. It becomes even more important when its relation to the generalized imperialist supported movement for Black neo-colonial hegemony is evaluated.

In the world today, (1975) it is abundantly evident that imperialism is no longer able to rule through regional white settler populations. The Multi-national corporate enterprises require a political apparatus which is relatively stable and capable of marshalling, through the welding of the state, the necessary labour power and capital while at the same time maintaining certain production relations that would facilitate the continued extraction of the massive surpluses to which the MNC has become historically accustomed. In order to do this they are perfectly willing to sacrifice local white interests as they did in the U. S. South during the civil war. There is struggle and contention as a result of this secondary contradiction between the white settlers on the one hand, and the ascendent African state-bourgeoisie on the other. This is not a struggle for a fundamental transformation of the society, however.

Capital in the form of the MNC is often seen supporting the ascendent local bourgeois formation which they created. What may have appeared to be a revolutionary struggle is revealed as nothing more that a Black *coup de etat* with the same state formation remaining intact continuing to fulfill its role in defence of capital. The African masses, in their struggle for liberation which is against capitalism

now begins to direct their struggle against these regimes. The white settler regimes seeing the victories of the peasants and workers on the one hand, and seeing that the African pro-imperialist forces represents no threat to their long term interests especially when they are backed by the powerful MNC's, on the other hand, are now prepared to "negotiate" in the interest of continued capitalist hegemony. These African custodians of international capitalism, recognizing that the white settlers are prepared to share power with them and feeling the weight of the masses for complete transformation of the society, are consolidating their own interests as part of the process by which the African world is polarizing into two warring camps - those who are for capitalism and those who are opposed to it.

The pressure being brought to bear upon the Liberation Organizations in Southern Africa as part of this dynamic is addressed by Campbell in this manner:

> The bankrupt lack lustre and comprador nature of the petty-bourgeoisie reveals itself everyday. Towards the end of last year (1974) there were disclosures of the secret meetings between Tanzania, Zambia and the racist Vorster of South Africa to arrange a neo-colonial settlement in Zimbabwe. Most Pan-Africanists refused to believe that African leaders like Nyerere and Kaunda would have deliberations with South Africa. But the truth is that, while members of the Mulungushi Club are against apartheid and the regime of Ian Smith, they are much more afraid of revolutionary violence and mass mobilization. The strength and vigour of the Mozambican peasants did have an effect on the Zairean and Tanzanian peasants. Mobutu is afraid of the P. R. P. (The Parti de la Revolution Populaire). More important, the U. S. government is now looking to Africa for cheap labor and raw materials. They understand the effect of armed peasants fighting their front men, Vorster and Smith.[23]

In the Caribbean many long time activists have much experience to draw upon with regard to the back stabbing nature of the African apologist for international capitalism in that part of the world. Many are beginning to equate Forbes Burnham and his programs for rural "co-operative" development with Julius Nyerere's programs for rural

"Ujamaa" development. Both are essentially failures because they were not part of an overall program of social and political mobilization aimed at the reorganization of those societies. Whenever there emerged struggles within the societies that have such far reaching implications they are violently repressed, especially motion within the working class. Furthermore, radical intellectuals have been jailed or in some way restricted in their activity.

So when the Manley's, the Burnhams and the Gairys come out in support of the African Liberation Struggles - however, nominal their support might be - the class nature of that support should be clear, especially where they seek to use such support to pressure the Liberation Organizations as others have done. Fully aware of the historical treachery of the Afro-Caribbean state bourgeoisie, a treachery which will be revealed more and more as anti-imperialists struggle against them mounts. Faced with their own exclusion - which is yet another example of the same phenomenon - the progressives on the Caribbean Steering Committee of the Sixth-PAC included in their communique the following, and we reiterate:

> We demand that the Liberation Movements, whatever their concept of the conference, be given full scope for the expression of what they wish to present.[24]

Walter Rodney, motivated essentially by the same experience along with the knowledge gained from teaching and working as an activist in Tanzania, by way of addition, saw the same danger and was prompted to write:

> The Congress must be asked to adopt the position that Liberation Movements should at all times be allowed to speak for themselves. The demand should be that, both inside and outside Africa, Liberation Movements should have unshakeable credentials, instead of being excluded when their interests are being discussed or instead of having to fight anew on each occasion to determine whether they should have the status of observers or second-class participants.[25]

Moreover, progressives from almost every quarter were unified in putting forth the demand for free and unfettered participation of the Liberation Organizations in the Congress. Faced with this kind of pressure as well as the fact that the OAU had already recognized certain of the fighting organizations as legitimizing the political aspirations of the peoples of the region concerned, the rightist forces had no other choice but to acquiesce. As a direct result, Mercelino dos Santos was able to become vice-chairman of the all influential Political Committee of the Congress and along with its chairman, Mamadi Keita of the leftist government of Guinea, Conakry - long time supporters of insurrectionary activity of the PAIGC, was able to play a decisive role within that committee as witnessed the ideological content of the "*General Declaration*" and the draft resolution which came from it. The rich experience of the revolutionary struggle of the people of Mozambique impacted the Congress ideologically through their representative.

It is in the *General Declaration* that progressives and Revolutionary Pan-Africanists have their clearest voice. It reads in part:

> Revolutionary Pan-Africanism inscribes itself within the context of the class struggle. Not to be conscious of this would be to expose ourselves to confusion which imperialism would not fail to exploit.[26]

Up to this point we have seen the clash of what is reducible to essentially two different ideological perspectives as they have struggled within the Congress over certain specific issues. Let us now continue this process by turning to another issue.

iv. The Class Role of Science and Technology

Unlike the questions of the role of the OAU, the seating of non-governmental delegates, and the political nature of the Liberation Struggles; the question of the role of science and technology came through and was addressed forthrightly by a resolution from a specific committee of the Congress. The fact that there was a separate committee set up by the "temporary Secretariat" for the purpose of coming up with meaningful ways of "dealing" with science and technology is reflective of the preconceived notion on the part of

the convening secretariat of establishing a Pan-African Science and Technology Center.

Here three aspects of this general question will be addressed. First, it is necessary to put forth an analysis of the class nature of the call for such an institution, itself. Secondly, some light needs to be thrown on the character of the institution as visualized by the various political tendencies already outlined. And finally, a look a the class implications of the draft resolution issued by the Science and Technology committee of the Congress needs to be undertaken.

The *Call* reads:

> Consistent with our commitment to independence and self reliance, the Sixth Pan-African Congress will pursue the development of a Pan-African Science and Technology Center. The Center will be designed to serve the vast array of needs of African people in the scientific and technological fields. . .[27]

The creation of a mechanism which would eventually establish such an institution is, of course, beyond the scope of a forum. But, as we have already asserted, the right state bourgeois forces sought to further entrench and to permanently institutionalize itself via the Sixth-PAC. Therefore, the Congress was more than a forum to them. Consistent with their conceptualization of the Congress as some type of Trans-Atlantic OAU legitimizing the state power of their class, they saw and pushed for the establishment of an elite technocratic institution to further their imperialist collaborationist aims.

Left progressives maintained the need for a Pan-African Institution of Science and Technology with the stipulation that a revolutionary anti-imperialist ideological position must be the guiding and driving force behind it. Progressives did not doubt that the rightist neo-colonial regimes with the combined resources of a unified Pan-African effort had the capacity to establish a Science and Technology Center. But they are not united to the extent that such a co-operative venture can, at this time, be launched. At the very least, what transpired at the Congress demonstrates that they could not achieve this stated goal. In the final analysis, the Sixth Pan-African Congress proved to be just

what it was, a forum bringing together the historical tendencies within the world African Movement.

In constantly supporting the idea of the creation of an institution of Science and Technology, and at the same time raising the ideological question of which classes within the Pan-African movement would such an institution serve, the progressives were taking us to our next area of analysis. What was the character of the institution that the various class forces visualized? The Committee on Science and Technology of the "Temporary Secretariat" set forth what it called the "Main Purpose of PACST"[28] (Pan-African Center for Science and Technology) in its statement, which reads:

> * Increase the pool of skilled Pan-Africans in the areas of science and technology.
> * Apply technology for rapidly meeting the material needs of the Pan-African community.
> * Create pertinent scientific information for use by Pan-African nation states . . .[29]

Even though the implication is that there are no real differences within the "Pan-African Community," the bourgeois class nature of this viewpoint is clearly revealed in the intention to "create pertinent scientific information for use by Pan-African nation states."

Oftentimes the right petit-bourgeoisie appears to put ideological considerations secondary to tools and techniques in the form of scientific and technological knowledge making it seem as though they are advocating science and technology for its own sake. This has been called by some, a "technocratic" approach to the problem. But while "Technocracy" glosses over the class nature of the use of science and technology, it, in reality, is the use of science and technology for those who rule. Ruling classes always portray the society over which they exercise their sway as unified and without legitimate conflict.

In the documents like those issued by the "Temporary Secretariat" and others which were the embodiment of the rightist supporters of the state bourgeoisie's position, there often appeared vague references to "self-determination" and "self-reliance" in the utilization of resources.

Typical of this position is the following statement by Fletcher Robinson:

> . . . There must be a determination made by Africans of what constitutes a fair exchange for their natural resources. Their raw materials must be used as leverage to influence the political and economic factors that move all of us closer to self-reliance.[30]

Like the African state bourgeoisie which does not challenge the imperial presence in the form of the Multi-National Corporate enterprises, Robinson advocates that we merely settle for "a fair exchange" leaving the MNCs intact and operative within the African world. He goes on further to openly articulate a position of bargaining with imperialism by using African raw materials "as leverage to influence" the imperialist. These statements clearly presuppose the continued existence of imperialist structural entities within African nations and by simply reassuring African governments of their "goodwill" they can continue to operate through them or as the masses continue to suffer.

What logically flows from this pro-imperialist stance is neccessarily a conceptualization of a Science and Technological Institute much like what the Tuskegee Institute was, in times past, to a Black rural elite who depended upon the goodwill of the local capitalists in the south and the large northern finance and industrial capitalists in order to further entrench themselves, or, better still what Tuskegee is now, along with the rest of the predominantly Black colleges, and Universities to the American capitalist corporate interests which created them and to which they continue to be subservient.

Contrast Robinson's view with a statement that was circulated within the small left caucus within the American delegation and a few other progressives but which never reached the floor of the Congress. It says, in part:

> Science and technology should be recognized as something not in its own right but something in the service of a particular class operating in its own interests.[31]

On the multi-national corporations and their role within Pan-Africa, the statement goes on to say:

> The presence of multi-national corporations in underdeveloped areas of the world have a two-fold effect and consequences. The first is a quantitative and the second is a qualitative one. In the first instance they explicit huge amounts of labour and raw resources and reap fantastic profits in and from Africa and the remainder of the Third World. The petty-bourgeois African elite within these puppet state bureaucracies seek to pursue "nationalisation" of a controlling share of certain multi-national corporations. In this way they entrench themselves and the presence of the multi-national is therefore insured. In the second instance qualitatively, their presence insures that a certain type of production will take place. Production for the metropoles. Underdeveloped countries are therefore found producing things like "baseball bats." They are found importing steel instead of using bamboo because not only are the multi-national corporate interests dictating production but they are dictating import-export policy. Things like grapefruit juice is imported whole the grapefruit is grown on the land in Africa.[32]

It is clear that this view is in opposition to an imperialist presence. An essential aspect of such an approach is a fundamental call for a systematic analysis of the way in which underdeveloped societies are presently (1975) organized. Science and technology is, therefore, placed back within its proper politico-ideological context. Walter Rodney again reinforces this point concerning the infamous African famine and drought:

> Drought and famine, for instance, are not merely 'natural phenomena' arising out of the failure of precipitation from on high. The incapacity to prevent or deal with drought and famine and the fantastic hardship which ensues are all related to the socio-economic structures of neo-colonial Africa and to the way that our economies are located within the international imperialist system. It requires certain *political* decisions to change these structures and the system.[33]

If, as progressives have advocated, science and technology has a class character to it, and therefore operates to serve a certain set of class interests and is obedient to the ideological view put forth by it; it follows that an institution of science and technology set up by the reactionary capitalist created ruling classes will be different from one set up through the struggle of workers and peasants.

The document mentioned above which was, in fact, a revised version of the Kent State progressives position on science and technology, did not reach the floor of the Congress. It contained a set of goals and objectives which defined the typed of Science and Technology Institution which its authors saw:

Goals and Objectives:

A. To unleash the revolutionary and creative instincts of the workers and peasants.

B. To provide whatever training which might be deemed necessary to expedite and insure complete control of both the industrial and agricultural sec tors of the economy by the workers and peasants.

C. To facilitate socialist development in all respects of the economy so that all scientific and technological endeavours will serve the masses of the African peoples.[34]

From these two viewpoints we can see that there is no disagreement between the right and left on the overall utility of science and technology. The question is, for what class and for what purpose? With this in mind let us proceed to an examination of the actual contents of the final resolution on science and technology adopted at the Congress. We will not here deal with the sections of the resolution affirming such agreed upon propositions as the need for health research and care for African peoples or the need for the training of specialists as such. What we will do is to focus upon the political and ideological content of those resolutions since that is where the essential disagreement lies.

Although there were references made in the final report of the committee on Science and Technology to "neo-colonialism," to the "working masses," and to the "transformation of society," the overall thrust of the resolutions was conciliatory to pro-imperialist African states. To the extent that it contained such references at all might simply be an indication that left forces were operative within the committee and continued to prod the right majority tendency.

In Section B of the document *For Technology and the Development of Natural Resources*, the conciliatory nature of the document is revealed clearly. This is the way it came out:

> **B.** For Technology and the Development of Natural Resources
>
> 1. RECOMMENDS that all Pan-African countries consider the fields of effective co-operation using their scientists and technical experts in exchanging information and experience in implementing the provisions of the African Convention of 1968 on the preservation of nature and natural resources.
>
> 2. RECOMMENDS that there be overall development planning among Pan-African countries for the efficient utilization of their natural resources. Furthermore, countries which share common resources would consult each other about the use and development of these resources. . .[35]

These kind of recommendations bear the class mark of intro-peripheral bourgeois class co-operation which will serve to further consolidate their position, of course. These recommendations are only progressive inasmuch as they will eventuate, if they are implemented, in revealing to the masses their bankrupt nature and drive forward the polarization of broader African society along class lines.

Horace Campbell has this to say about the Science and Technology document:

> . . . an idealistic document which did not place the question of science and scientific research in its proper material perspective. Science is not neutral. It has both political and social implications. Science and politics are intimately related and scientific research is a social activity which fulfills a social

> political function. The authors of the document refused to understand the relationship between political underdevelopment and technological backwardness. The creative use of scientific invention must be linked to the liberation of the people under the banner of scientific socialism.[36]

Here Campbell is alluding to an important, if not essential, dynamic in the creation of useful and historically meaningful institutions. It is through the struggle for socialism that socialist institutions are created. Therefore, scientific and technological "experts" cannot sit down and create an institution that has the capacity to serve the "oppressed masses." The validity of the ideological principles that such an institution must necessarily be based upon has to be developed and sharpened in the struggle for a new social order. The needs and imperatives that such an institution will address are the needs and imperatives that are defined in, and come from the process of struggle for that new order. From this it is safe to generally conclude that not only was the call for such an institution initiated by the right state bourgeoisies at that time in order to further consolidate themselves, but the nature of the institution as set forth by various documents was designed to do the same thing.

As the last of the classical colonies is given over to Black puppets the Pan-African state bourgeoisie sees its dreams fulfilled and in that the realization of "Pan-Africanism" as they see it. There is now a need for them to unify and close ranks as they begin to bolster up their weaker links. Let us not forget that a certain brand of science and technology, just as any other tool can serve this process too.

Sixth-PAC Summary Conclusion

An assessment of the Sixth Pan-African Congress using the theoretical technique of the class analysis was attempted as the primary purpose of this effort. This was done by first placing the Congress centrally within the context of a vital international social movement. This movement has been and continues to be called the Pan-African Mass Movement. Its significance as a forum was evaluated in that

light. Of course, the ideological struggles that were part of the proceedings of previous Pan-African Congresses along with an analysis of the dynamic historical context within which they also occurred had to be looked at in order to make any valid statements about the Sixth-PAC even at the level of description.

Because of the rapidly changing contemporary political situation which has served to further enrich the theoretical formulations of which the concept of Pan-Africanism is a part, the Sixth-PAC therefore, is part of a process of continuing conceptual redefinition. Today (1975) in order for Pan-Africanism to remain a progressive ideological set of postulates it must as the General Declaration of the Congress explicitly states, be cast in the international class struggle. Indeed, it was this struggle operating at the international level that fashioned the general character of the style and form of the preparatory work done prior to the Dar-es-Salaam conclave as this same struggle was one of the central characteristics of the Congress itself.

After the theoretical and conceptual frame of reference was sketched in we attempted to advance an analysis of the class forces operative specifically within the Sixth Pan-African as they struggled against one another over the issues that developed as the meeting progressed. This was not intended to be an account of all of the important aspects of the Congress and its proceedings. However, since, as has already been stated, the class struggle within the Congress proper was perhaps its most essential definitive characteristic; it was felt that this attempt using the technique of class analysis would, at the very least, begin to address some questions that further work in the future would clarify in more vivid detail. This is, no doubt, the process that has already been set into motion. With or without this effort the process would have continued. But it is hoped that this small contribution will in some way serve to increase and be part of this larger motion as the struggle of the world wide African people's movement continues to advance as part of the struggle of all oppressed peoples.

Notes

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and Class Struggles I Zaire" (Mimeographed paper, Atlanta, 1976), p. 7.

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4. Editorial Commentary, *Sunday Nation*, March 17, 1974, Nairobi, Kenya.

5. Staff Reporter, "OAU Charter Not Adequate - Nyerere," *Daily News*, 27 June 1974, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, p. 1.

6. "Julius K. Nyerere's Speech to the Congress," *The Black Scholar*, July - August, 1974, p. 18.

7. *Ibid.*

8. "Sekou Toure Speech to the Congress," *The Black Scholar*, July - August, 1974, p. 18.

9. Karrim Essack, "Imamu Baraka, Views from the PAC," *Daily News*, 29 June, 1974, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, p. 4.

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13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. Walter Rodney, *Towards the Sixth PAC - Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa, the Caribbean and America*, 1974, unpublished paper, p. 17.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Walter Rodney, *Towards the Sixth PAC - Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa, the Caribbean and America*, 1974, unpublished paper, p. 17.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Malik Chaka, "Angola: Change Conflict and Civil War?" *The African World*, March, 1975, pp. 10-11.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Campbell, pp. 26-27.

24. Caribbean-South American Steering Committee - Sixth Pan-African Congress, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

25. Rodney, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

26. The Sixth Pan-African Congress, *The General Declaration of the Sixth Pan-African Congress*, Adopted, June, 1974, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

27. Temporary Secretariat, Sixth Pan-African Congress, *The Call*, Dar-es-

Salaam, Tanzania, 1974.

28. Committee on Science and Technology, Sixth Pan-African Congress, *Pan-African Center for Science and Technology*, An Overview, June 19-27, 1974, mimeograph.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Robinson, Fletcher, "On Science and Technology: Self-Development in the Black World," *Black World,* March, 1974, p. 29.

31. Left Caucus, Sixth-PAC, *Resolution on Science and Technology*, Mimeographed Document, June, 1974.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Rodney, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

34. Left Caucus, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-21.

35. Pan-African Congress Resolutions - On Science and Technology, *New Directions*, Howard University, Summer, 1974, p. 27.

36. Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

PART IV

THE INTERNATIONAL CAPITALIST SYSTEM: SOME CONCEPTUAL QUESTIONS

CHAPTER 10

Slave Labor as the Central Factor in the Comparative Economic Development of Brazil and the United States

> Without slavery North America, the most progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe North America off the map of the world, and you will have anarchy—the complete decay of modern commerce and civilization. Cause slavery to disappear and you will have wiped America off the map of nations. (Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy,* 1846)

C.L.R. James tells us that:

> .....the rationalization of labor force upon which the whole process of colonization depended had the African at its most essential point. If he had been able to work or sustain himself or learn the language or maintain cooperation in his social life, the whole question of America as a distinct civilization could never have arisen. We might be then talking about a sort of New Zealand or perhaps Canada.[1]

.....and by extension, Australia. James has identified the most "essential" ingredients within the colonial productive regime of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century America. But what of Brazil? Was not the slave production for an emerging capitalist world market an essential ingredient within its economic development? Why didn't it take a similar course to that taken by the United States? There must be more than the mere presence or absence of slavery to account for this differential in the development of these distinctive societies. This effort will attempt to superficially address these questions. It is intended to be a political economic sketch of some of the historical factors in the economic development of Brazil and the United States;

some often considered in other works, others not so often considered. It can not, in any way, be considered exhaustive. A full consideration of the intricate and complicated inter-relationships would be impossible in such a limited space. A systematic study of slave labor and the slave labor produced export commodity as a central factor in an historically unfolding sequence of an interrelated set of economic factors could reveal many new insights. The economic histories of Brazil and the United States offers a fantastic opportunity for the study of the comparative significance of slavery as a key factor operating within two different contexts. This comparative study should reveal more about the emergence of capitalism as an international system in both its quantitative and qualitative dimensions.

Although a comprehensive treatment of this phenomena requires an extensive elaboration of metropolitan European economic and political history, some of the economic history of mercantile capitalism, as it took place within Europe will be considered in connection with our central discussion. However, emphasis here will be placed upon what was happening internally within Brazil and the U.S. up to the manumission of the slave population within those regions. Within these explicitly stated limitations, we can begin our circumscribed effort.

Attempts to account for the markedly different paths that these two national state formations took, by advancing the proposition that the slave regimes existent within them were different qualitatively because of the relative humanity in which the slave was treated by slave masters of different European origins, must be rejected out of hand. Instead of a meaningless search for reasons to explain the assumed greater humanity of the Portuguese slave master with which Gilberto Freyre is occupied,[2] a more fruitful method of approach would involve the conclusion that the plantation as an economic institution operated, at the micro level, in the same manner in both societies. Therefore, the critical aspect of a comparative analysis would lay in the flow, elaboration, and the proliferation of the surpluses accumulated from the exchange of the agricultural commodities produced by these regimes operating in different social and historical contexts. Much of the work in this area has taken this form. In this regard the works of Furtado,[3] North,[4] Beckford[5], and others are familiar to researchers in this vital area of study.

One of the most obvious features that many have thought to characterize Brazil and the United States up to the 1860's was the coexistence of a merchant-capitalist white settler region and a backward mono-crop African slave plantation region within the same political formation. In Brazil this was seen in the early development of a vast plantation system centered in Bahia in the northeastern region compared with a European merchant settler region in the area of the south-central region which is now Santos, Sao Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro axis. In the U.S. it was, likewise, the emergence of the plantation system of the southeastern states and the free hold farm settlements of the New England areas that appeared to follow a corresponding pattern. Looking closer at what appears to be a strikingly similar phenomenon, it is their origin and social context that gives them a fundamentally distinctive character.

I. Differences in Patterns of Settlement

Because England by the middle of the seventeenth century was beginning to feel the political consequences of a rapidly developing merchant class, the society itself was in conflict. The urbanization and rural dislocation of large sections of the population[6] which accompanies the beginning of the transformation of an advanced feudal society to a mercantile capitalist society, were already in motion. As a result, political refugees and generalized surplus manpower were in relative abundance. The incentive for immigration to North America was so great that government subsidies, for the most part, were unnecessary. In fact, it was profitable business for a few private companies. Thirteen successful English settlements were established between 1607 and 1630.[7] They were based upon small land holdings paid for by labor contracts which were fulfilled over a period of time.

These early white small landholding colonies in North America and the Caribbean were clustered in two groupings, with few exceptions: one developed in certain of the Lesser Antilles and the other within New England on the North American mainland. Although the Virginia and Maryland colonies which lay outside of the orbit of the New England cluster experienced an abrupt shift to the production of a slave produced export staple, and therefore to larger production units; small land holdings like the others were the initial basis of even this settlement.

The conclusion to be drawn is that, though there would be great and dramatic changes taking place within the next hundred years, the basic form of the first English penetration into the region which became the United States of North America could be characterized as a "Colonial Settlement."[8]

On the other hand, owing to the existence of a less developed mercantile form of production within Portugal as a basic factor, the society was less urbanized and less densely populated with the bulk of its productive manpower held captive within the backward feudal agricultural sector of the economy. The Dutch Maritime Merchants controlled virtually all of the intra-European commerce and manufacturing of Portugal.[9] They provided the finance, the transportation, and a huge market, for the emergence of the relatively large sugar-producing agricultural plantation enterprises which were first installed primarily in northeastern Brazil. However, another smaller, less developed core of the same type emerged later, some 900 miles to the southwest. These taken together were the first forms of Portuguese settlement and colonization. Brazil could therefore be characterized as the original "colony of exploitation."[10]

II. Shifts and Disruptions Within Patterns of Production and Settlement

In order to grasp the essential character of the shifting patterns of settlement and production within the Americas during the latter half of the seventeenth century, it is necessary to examine some of the features of the European metropolitan political economy. With the decline of the inflated backward underproducing Spanish economy as a result of its saturation with huge quantities of unilaterally transferred gold from its new world mines, the ascendant Dutch Maritime Merchants who were establishing their sugar monopoly in what is Brazilian region came into sharp conflict with the Spanish aristocracy resulting in the Spanish-Dutch War of 1580-1640. During this period the Spanish and the Portuguese formed a dual monarchy with the king of Spain as a common sovereign. One of the peripheral consequences of this metropolitan war was the occupation of the sugar producing regions of Brazil from 1630-1654. Within the midst of this forced occupation, the Portuguese revolted against the Spanish in Europe, which in turn

stimulated a Brazilian revolt against the Dutch (1641) in the Americas. The Dutch were finally expelled in 1654.

Of the economic repercussions of this expulsion the contemporary Brazilian economist Celso Furtado informs us:

> While they occupied northeastern Brazil the invaders acquainted themselves with every angle, both technical and organizational, of the sugar industry. This know-how was to serve as a basis for installing and developing a large scale competitive sugar industry in the Caribbean region. From that time onward the monopoly which had by then existed for three-quarters of a century, based on identity of interests between Portuguese producers and Dutch financial groups controlling Europe trade, was broken.[11]

After reaching its zenith in 1650, at a time when the New England and Virginia regions of North America were just being settled, Brazilian sugar prices and exports had dwindled to one half their former level by the closing decades of that century. This in term caused the value of Portuguese currency to dramatically fall proportionate to the drop in sugar prices. The seeds of the general tendency for stagnation, fragmentation, and underdevelopment that has historically characterized the Brazilian economy can be found here.

The primary slave produced commodity(sugar) had become inextricably a part of a weak, competitive market situation that would over the next two centuries, though fluctuating, maintain itself just at a level sufficient to insure the continued existence of the sugar producing plantation as the basic economic unit within the society. The rise of a competitive slave labor sugar producing plantation system in the Caribbean, resulted in the disruption of the development of small European contract landholding settlements in that area. Of the rapid development of this Dutch subsidized process Furtado continues:

> ..... powerful financial groups soon appeared in the islands controlling great tracts of land and owning large sugar mill installings. Thus less than ten years after being expelled from Brazil, the Dutch were operating in the Caribbean area a sugar economy of large proportions, with new equipment and in a better geographical position vis-a-vis the European

markets.[12]

As the Black African slaves came in, the white European settlers left. This is the manner in which the large sugar estate became the regime of production that has existed there until the present.

III. Development within the British White Settler Colonies

The northern colonies, while exporting some small quantities of tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, were basically small subsistence farming units clusted in New England with a small surplus for export. As a consequence of two simultaneously occurring events the food consumption needs of the sugar islands began to be met by the surpluses from the farms of New England. The following allowed this new and critic market to open up: 1) The displacement of subsistence food production in the Caribbean by large sugar producing plantations; and 2) civil conflicts within England itself and conflict between England and the rest of Europe prevented its merchants from supplying the sugar islands with food for its slave laborers.

The import requirements of the new island plantation economy stimulated not only agricultural production in the North, but also increased trade in draft animals and handicrafts, to a small degree, as well as lumber for the construction of boxes for the shipment of sugar. The latter proved essential to the development of shipbuilding which provided the vessels that enabled an emergent New England merchant class not only to continue this vital trade with the Caribbean, but to enter the trans-Atlantic slave trade on an independent footing.

Thus, the New England-West Indian trade developed in order to give support to the production of sugar a slave produced staple. This trade was able to transform the small core of colonies within the northeastern part of what was to become the United States from a cluster of subsistence agricultural communities on the brink of failure, to one of the most important commercial centers of the New World by 1720. The population of the North American colonies jumped from 50,000 inhabitants to a half million from 1650 to 1720.

Of the integrated system of exploitation with the brutal and protracted exploitation of African slave labour in the cane fields of the Caribbean, the tobacco fields of Virginia and Maryland, and the

rice fields of the Carolinas, as the most oppressed social class at its anchor and the North American merchant and the slave plantation owners of the new world as its chief benefactors, North and Thomas have this to say—while tracing the commodity flow of the period:

> The export of staple products—such as sugar from the West Indies, tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, and rice from the Carolinas, was the backbone of the colonial trade. The extensive growth of New England and the beginnings of development in the Middle Colonies were mainly tied to trade with these Atlantic Colonies, especially the West Indies. New England provided breadstuffs to feed the labor force engage in producing exports staples in the West Indies.[13]

The story of the rise of the Great Caribbean market and the establishment of its decisive trading linkages with North America could be grasped more fully if the civil upheavals that were part of the internal turmoil of England and its wars of expansion viv-a-vis the rest of Europe were reintroduced as a critical factor which rendered it incapable of the continued exploitation of the Caribbean market primarily in imported food. The Americans, vagabond step-children of mercantile England, therefore had no competition for a rich open market that lay at their feet.

As a result of the accumulation, further elaboration, and proliferation of the surpluses derive from this profitable system of production and exchange, the foundation of the tendency toward dynamism, integration, and development that came to establish itself as a fundamental characteristic of the American economy was firmly laid. Sugar, the slave produced staple which was stagnating and under developing both Brazil and the Caribbean as the flow of surpluses accrued to Europe via Flanders and Portugal and during the early mercantile period and America during its later phase. These specific dynamics of the general process of primitive accumulation proved to be very "sweet" for the development of the white world and exceedingly bitter, indeed, for the underdeveloped new world African diaspora.

The emerging New English cosmopolis was beginning to come into conflict with the old English cosmopolis over the tightening of the restrictions placed upon its expansion. Peter Kalm, a Swedish

traveler visiting America saw that the British Crown was not thinking of driving the French from their New World possession because they provided a curb upon the independent expansion of the New English merchant dominated American colonies. Kalm asserted, in 1748 as he predicted the war for American independence, that:

> There is reason to believe that the King never was earnest in his attempts to expel the French from their possessions there; though it might have been done with little difficulty; for the English colonies in this part of the world have increased so much in their number of inhabitants, and in their riches, that they almost vie with Old England.[14]

Showing how it was the intention of the British Crown to stop the development of capitalism within the new and energetic American economy, Kalm continues:

> Now in order to keep up the authority and trade of their mother country, and to answer several other purposes, they are forbidden to establish new manufactures, which would turn to the disadvantage of British commerce; they are not allowed to dig for any gold or silver, unless they send them to England immediately; they have not the liberty of trading to any parts that do not belong to the dominions, excepting some settled places; and foreign traders are not allowed to send their ships to them. These and some other restrictions, occasion the inhabitants of the English colonies to grow less tender for their mother country.[15]

By 1789 the Americans, under the joint class leadership of the New English merchants and southern Planters within their orbit, set up a modern bourgeois national state with appropriate protective tariffs, customs, and duties to protect and nurture the growing fetus which would become the largest industrial and commercial complex in the world by the second decade of the twentieth century. Even at the point of its break with England, the American national state was every bit as developed as any of the continental European states with the possible exceptions of Britain and France.

IV. Underdevelopment Within the Portuguese Colonies of Brazil: the Rise of an Export Economy

But what of the development of Brazil? Or more accurately put; "what of the 'underdevelopment' of Brazil?" After the decline of sugar production in the latter half of the seventeenth century, the colonial cluster in the northeastern region was able to hold on because of an abundance of land allowing for the emergence of a subsidiary cattle-breeding economy. Food for slaves and others within the society was produced domestically.[16] In the south western Sao Paulo plateau a region which had been established during the relatively prosperous time before the decline, the settlers within that plantation cluster were able to keep their society from falling apart by engaging in raiding for indigenous Indian slaves in the interior and selling them in the same manner that their counterparts were doing on the other side of the Atlantic. Slave raiding "bandeirantes"[17] are credited with opening up the interior to a limited trade in furs as well. Aside from those core groupings, the Portuguese established another in the northern isolated area of Maranho for political reasons and later it was abandoned to its own devices because of the adverse effects of the fall in sugar prices. However, they too were able to survive as a consequence of the development of a decadent Indian slave raiding society much like that in the Sao Paulo plateau region, though on a lesser scale. From the Maranhao settlement the Portuguese were able to engage in limited exploration of the Amazon basin by the first half of the eighteenth century and export some Indian slave produced products; cocoa, vanilla, cinnamon, cloves, and aromatic resins for an extremely small European market.[18]

One more minor episode within the export economy of Brazil is of critical significance in response to the decline of sugar was the appearance of a cattle breeding commercial center in the up river area of the River Plate around the colony of Sacramento. Subsequently, this area began to engage in the international trade of leather products, strengthening the Portuguese position within this area of economic activity, to a very small extent.[19]

But the overall defining character of the Portuguese metropolitan and the Brazilian peripheral economies was a long term tendency toward decline and stagnation. These underdevelopment dynamics would, of course, lead to the eventual subordination of these economies to

those of the western European Imperialist powers doing the post industrial period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But during the transition from the middle to the late mercantile period Brazilian sugar proved to be no match for Dutch financed Caribbean sugar with its large mother country protected metro markets. But they both were producing at a level just profitable enough to hold on.

The fall in the value of Portuguese currency, which was based upon Brazilian sugar, limited the import capacity of the colonies to only essentials, such as salt. As the subsistence sectors of the economy expanded, the collection of taxes and other revenues became impossible.[20]

Furtado describes this process in the following manner:

> Rising prices of imported manufactures reached such a point that in the poorest regions, such as Piratininga (Sao Paulo), a suit of clothing of imported material or shotgun might be worth more than a residence. These factors favored a sharper reversion to forms of subsistence economy, with atrophy in the division of labor, reduction in productivity, dissolution of the system into increasingly smaller productive units, extinction of the more complex forms of social intercourse and substitution of general law by local custom.[21]

This protracted decline in sugar production in Brazil was decisive in European metro history and an examination of the repercussions is unavoidable in order to more fully comprehend the nature of the underdevelopment process at work during these harsh times.

Toward the end of this long period of decline Portugal was forced to conclude the Methuen Treaty of 1703. During that time, the English had stopped the importation of foreign textiles, thereby consolidating their home markets for their own developing textile manufactures. After this was achieved they proceeded to penetrate every European market in an attempt to develop a monopoly in this critical and historically pivotal area of production and trade. As a result of the difficulties with the export of Brazilian produced sugar the Portuguese were attempting to stimulate the development of their own domestic manufacturing capabilities. To this end the importation of British produced textiles was prohibited. A strong reaction to this policy arose within Portugal from the wine merchants and manufacturers who

wanted increased trade with England and access to the British wine market. The English encouraged this opposition to the attempt on the part of some interests to protect and stimulate Portuguese domestic industry and thereby insure its development. The wine merchants prevailed. The British reduced tariffs on Portuguese wines giving it preferred market status and the Portuguese, as a consequence of the Methuen Treaty of 1703, lifted their embargo on English textiles, laying the market wide open, disrupting the development of Portuguese domestic industry and impeding the general process of industrialization. English textile production flourished because of its access to this new market. Portugal was never to become an industrial power of the magnitude of Britain and France and would from that time forward be a peripheral European nation state acting as a middle man between more developed European nations and the underdeveloped world.

This proved to be a critical historical turning point. Had Portugal been able to become an industrialized nation, its population would have increased and the population pressure alone would have allowed the freeing up of some of its manpower to work in the Brazilian mines when gold was discovered in the Piratining plateau region during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Doubtless, the inflow of gold, as it did, would serve to retard the development of Portuguese industry. That usually occurs at a certain stage in a pre-industrial society, as it did in Spain.

> If gold was to be introduced into an industrialized economy, under certain favorable conditions, it would serve to lubricate the exchange process. Portugal was attempting to industrialize in the midst of the sugar decline. It is, therefore, doubtful that it would have been able to reach a sufficient level of industrialization to allow the gold inflow to aid in the expansion of the economy.

However, on the peripheral side of this speculative question, there would have been a slightly more positive set of conditions for Brazilian development if free settlers could have satisfied the manpower demands within the short lived mining economy. But even that is doubtful since the form in which the introduction of slave labour into the mines took was not large socialized production units similar to the plantations

which provided the basis for the production of sugar. The mining sector was essentially a monied economy, in which the slave often entered and was allowed to work on his own in exchange for a periodic payment to his master.[22]

In any event, there was a large migration of European settlers into Brazil for the first time and there were shifts and adjustments of internal settlement patterns in response to the rise of a critical mining sector within the economy. Along with this a lucrative domestic food market opened up as well as a small market for beast of burden. By this time some subsistence cattle breeding had spread to the South. It was stimulated by this new mostly domestic food market. Since the mining districts were located great distances from ports or waterways in mountainous regions and since almost all of the goods used by the miners had to be imported, a market in animal conveyance opened up. In order to supply this market the mule breeding region of Rio Grande de Sul emerged.[23] Of the limited integrational effects of the Southern mining economy within the larger region, Furtado has written:

> ....distant regions existed independently of one another and most probably would have tended to develop in subsistence systems without links of economic solidarity among them. The mining economy opened up a new cycle of development for them all. On the one hand, it substantially increased the profitability of a cattle-breeding economy, inducing broader utilization of land and herds. On the other hand, it made the various regions interdependent through forms of specialization, some taking up breeding, others fattening and distribution, and still others becoming the main consumption markets.[24]

Because some political historians have attributed this process of economic integration to the cattle-breeding enterprise itself, Furtado cautions:

> It is an error to suppose that cattle breeding was what bound those regions together. The linking factor was actually the demand for cattle radiating from the dynamic center set up by the mining economy.[25]

Though the mining market was there, it was highly unstable and had a tendency to geographically shift suddenly. Additionally, it would expand and contract as new discoveries were made and others were exhausted and as the relative mixture of slave and free labour varied. A comparative corollary point that can be make in this regard has to do with the reason for the emergence of the cattle-breeding monopoly as a supplier of food. This form of food production occurred instead of small landed units producing an agricultural staple like what took place within the Northeastern United State where wheat developed. This is, of course, of great developmental significance. Because the production of beef necessarily required the utilization of relatively small amounts of labour owing to the limited supply of settler manpower from Portugal in the early days of Brazilian colonization along with several other factors. Since domestically produced beef was used to supply the large population of slaves and other laborer with food most especially during the ascendancy of the sugar regime, beef production was inextricably linked to the fortunes of sugar production and sales. With the decline of sugar it became the form by which the society as a whole descended into subsistence. Therefore, this wasteful system, in terms of its ineffective utilization of land which was in abundance, along with its restricted consumer market was sanctioned as the basis of a stagnant economy. Consequently, when the food markets that were opened up with the introduction of mining developed it was only natural for beef to fulfill that requirement.

The reason for the incapacity of the unstable urban and semi-urban areas in the mining economy to develop even some small manufactures remains an open question. Furtado argues that because of the almost nonexistence of manufacturing nuclei in Portugal, techniques could not be transferred through immigration, as the mining economy expanded to the Brazilian colony. While that is true it is symptomatic of a much more complicated process operative both within the metropoles and the peripheral economies. An understanding of the role and nature of gold itself as a commodity and the nature of the production relations in the Brazilian economy, as a whole, would help throw some light on this question.

In the first place, the possibilities for a domestic market for gold did not exist. Consequently, the essential nature of the integrational

spin-offs from its production and sale occurring within the Brazilian economy were secondary and biased toward underdevelopment. That is to say, a foreign market was totally depended upon, and this entire economic sector relied upon the export of this single commodity. Though sugar was exported, is was not an integral part of the mining sector and therefore stood, for the most part, outside of its immediate orbit. It should be mentioned, however, that the mining of gold was tangentially related to sugar production. The relation of these two distinctive economic sectors took place through the influence of sugar production and sale upon Portuguese currency. The capacity of the currency to acquire favorable exchange rates against other European currencies did have an influential effect upon the ability of the Brazilian mining economy to accumulate capital and sustain itself.

This tendency within the early mercantile Brazilian economy toward disjointed fragmentation and underdevelopment was drastically different from what was happening simultaneously with the economy of North America. There the scope of the trade was not only geographically broad, but it took in many distinctive markets and the exchange of many different commodities and rested upon an expanding stable complex domestic market with a large supply of free labor from immigration. The relative vigor and dynamism of the two distinctive colonial economies during these times reveals this stricken contrast.

Furthermore, a precious metal produced and exchanged during a period of pre-industrial economic development within a given society has different consequences than the production and exchange of a previous metal after industrialization has been achieved. What happened in the case of the production of Brazilian gold is the production of a precious metal during the pre-industrial phase which acted upon the economy of countries that contain structural biases which mitigate against industrialization. This, of course, has had lasting historical effects.

The Methuen Treaty opened up Portugal's market to English textiles in exchange for privileged market status for Portuguese wines on the English market. This event coincided with the inflow of Brazilian gold into Portugal. This gold was then transferred through Portugal to England itself stimulating textile production and exchange, and therefore, industrialization. In Portugal it inflated the economy and

since that country had no manufacturing the demand for manufactured goods shifted to England. The English economy was, in this way, the chief benefactor of Brazilian gold. This was one of the aspects of a process that brought England through its industrial revolution to become the primary financial and industrial center of the world as latter mercantile period came to a close. It appears as though Brazilian produced gold lubricated and expanded British trade and production, on the one hand, while this same gold production stagnated and stunted both the economies of Brazil and of Portugal, on the other.

With regard to the production relations existent within Brazilian society, aside from the slave mining operation which was the center of the "new" economy, plantation sugar still remained the backbone of the "old" economy, such as it was. The society as a whole remained sugar dependent. In fact it was intact and holding on as it involved large quantities of labour and land in the northern coastal regions. Even though it was disrupted somewhat by migration to the mining districts it stubbornly held its position vis-a-vis the remainder of the economy.

Raw sugar was an export which had no domestic market, and its production was not tied to any internal exchange aside from some very limited food for slaves along with beef products. But more than anything it was the maintenance of the backward set of production relations on the plantation, in the mines, and in the society as a whole that acted as a fetter against the development of manufactures. The slave was not free to sell his labor power anywhere in the country as a rule. There was an under-population of immigrant settlers up until the days of the ascension of the mining economy. Even then, however, there were no small landholders to any substantial degree. Furthermore, there were no artisans, in any significant numbers, nor was there a significant free trading merchant sector involved in diverse complex commerce like in the British North American colonies.

But even with all of this, the early emergence of manufacturing could possibly have occurred with the decline of the mining economy during the latter part of the eighteenth century because of a relatively large free labor population in the same way as what happen in Australia after the collapse of gold in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. Admittedly, this happened in Australia under different world market

conditions. By this time the dominance of textiles had been established. Nevertheless, an examination of certain key comparative considerations between the case of Australian and that of Brazil could be fruitful at this point.

G. V. Portus advances the proposition that:

> The course taken by the Australian gold economy is illustrative of the flexibility of a system which had access to a more advanced technology.[26]

In this regard, Futado, undoubtedly with the same principle in mind argues the following making a similar comparative point:

> Had the mining economy evolved into a more complex system, reactions would certainly have been different. Three-quarters of a century later in Australia, unemployment caused by the collapse of gold production was the point of departure for a protectionist policy which made possible the early industrialization of that country.[27]

While any meaningful consideration of this extremely complicated set of relations is difficult, the key aspect, it would seem, is the central role of slave labor in the case of Brazil. Though "advanced technology" as Portus states explicitly and perhaps, Furtado implies, is critically important; it was the slave plantation system and its backward utilization of labour and its debilitating effects upon any developing money economy, primarily at the level of internal markets, that was acting as a fetter upon the development of Brazil.

From the foregoing, it appears clear that within an early pre-industrial capitalist society slave labour acts to facilitate a certain form of capitalist accumulation within the periphery of the international economic system. However, during periods when industrialization is possible slave labour acts as a fetter upon further development. Australia had a huge supply of free labor as the mines themselves were operated on that basis.[28]

In Brazil there was more free labor during the pre-gold period, but since the gold mines had been operating with slave labor as its primary base there was no "unemployment" as such during its decline. In fact, the nature and course of gold mining was determined by the

slave form of production and all of its implications. It might have been that the rise and fall of gold mining in Brazil as well as its longevity could have been different had its labour regime been made up of wage earners. But, of course, it is impossible to determine the destiny of Brazilian gold mining under different historical circumstances since it occurred within the context of very definite historical determined conditions.

In the closing decades of the eighteenth century, the Brazilian economy was once again going through a pèriod of protracted stagnation with the sugar plantations in the northeast and coastal southwest sustaining their institutional form unchanged. The class leaders of the country were slave owners and the ideological and intellectual backwardness of the societal superstructure was largely circumscribed by this class. Beef-breeding, where is was not directly for subsistence purposes, was linked to them. They simply dominated the country as its economy remained totally dependent upon the emerging European epi-center. In the case of Brazil there was no inclination toward independence.

V. Some General Comparative Considerations

In America the energetic New England mercantilists, with the southern planters reluctantly tied to them, for better or for worst, had achieved national independence and had in their possession a new capitalist state. "Free Trade" was their watch word. In those regions where the merchants had direct control, they also preached "freedom, justice, and equality" for all. In regions where some minimal degree of industrialization had began to emerge, slavery was quickly abolished. But in the south, it remained intact as an integral part of a production and exchange network and in those areas as well as in the rest of the new nation, "freedom, justice, and equality," was not advocated for or extended to the African slave laborer. The United States of North American thus became an integrated social system with two distinctive forms of production; one in the north and the other in the south. In the north a system developed which was able to drive the entire society toward industrialization because of the subordination of the southern plantation system and the trade in the products derived from it to the mercantile system of the north. Within one system the dynamics of development and underdevelopment both could be found.

Thus the system was able to feed and nurture itself and in this way become more industrialized.

In Brazil there was only one economic dynamic which was overwhelmingly peripheral in nature and its tendency was decidedly structurally biased toward underdevelopment. There was no ascendent merchant class strong enough to lead a drive for genuine political independence until much later. What would be the economic basis for such an independence?

But in the final analysis, in the United States, it was the specific historical instance of the introduction slave produced cotton as a mass produced agricultural commodity that propelled England along with much of Western Europe and New England as well into the twentieth century. This slave produced agricultural commodity which had to be produced on such a scale that it could begin to supply both an insatiable domestic and international market. The production of cotton began to take hold of the American political economy at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The demand for cotton was so great that it threatened to take the southern plantation economy out of the orbit of the New England mercantilists. Therein lies the seeds of a revolutionary civil conflict that would be fought some sixty years after the formation of an independent society. This lead to the historical result of consolidating a class of industrialists and the subsequent rapid industrialization of the entire country through an unevenly progressing process by the dawn of the twentieth century.

Specifically, it was slave produced cotton for the insatiable textile industry of England and New England that led directly to the industrial revolution. In the United States the ascension of cotton production allowed the two separate modes of production which were created and co-existed within the same nation state to consolidate its own industrial revolution. Contrary to the assertion of many historians and economist alike, in Brazil there was no dual regime as such. What gave it the appearance of two distinctive regimes was the existence of a large subsistence white farming and herding population. But for the most part, this sector of the economy was tied to the slave plantation owners in one way or another in much the same way as the small up country farmers of the U.S. South were attached to the large land holding plantation owners. The latter was to join the plantation owners in

the creation of the Confederation States of America, thus proving that there was more unity than distinction between these two sectors of the same dependent economy. In Brazil the Plantocracy had complete and unchallenged control of all sectors and spheres of production and exchange. The state superstructure that emerged from this type of economic base was one which reflected this total dependence.

Because the market in textiles has been substantial, even prior to the advent of mechanization, slave produced cotton served to drive the industrialization already in motion within both England and in New England forward. Slave produced sugar, tobacco, rice, and indigo had taken pre-industrial capitalist development only so far, and it would be slave produced cotton that would provide the basis for the consummation of the industrial revolution.

And so while the same Brazilian slave produced sugar, which was essentially the first truly capitalist mass produced commodity of scale for the international mercantile market during an earlier period, by the end of the eighteenth century had become a dead weight strangling the economy. Its now backward plantation complex, and its degenerative supportive network held Brazil captive within an archaic system of production and exchange. This was occurring at the same time when slave produced cotton in the United States of North America having its origin within a similar mode of production was pushing England, New England and the world down the final stretch into a new epoch.

Notes

1. James, C.L.R., *The Atlantic Trade and Slavery: Some Interpretations of their Significance in the Development of the United States and the Western World,* in John A. Williams and Charles F. Harris, ed. *Amistad*, (New York, 1970), p.150.
2. Freyre, Gilberto, *The Masters and the Slaves*, (New York, 1946)
3. Furtado, Celso, *The Economic Growth of Brazil*, (Los Angeles, 1963)
4. North, Douglas C. and Robert P. Thomas ed., *The Growth of the American Economy to 1860,* (Columbia, S.C., 1968)
5. Beckford, George, *Persistent Poverty*, (New York, 1972)
6. Issac, Julius, *Economics of Migration*, (London, 1947)
7. North and Thomas, pp. cit.,p. 23
8. This category is used by writers who have studied the complex pattern of European settlement in the Americas to designate those areas where large populations of European immigrants established a physical presence, i.e.

European American (Canada), U.S. except the southeast, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and the south of Brazil.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-18.

10. This category is used to designate regions in the Americas where Europeans imported a large African labor force in order to carry out large scale agricultural production of an export staple. Therefore, because of the relatively small number of European settlers and the form of the economy along with other factors, they were more tied to the rulers of the mother country, i.e. low land America.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

13. North, Thomas, *op. cit* ., p. 23

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Furtadado, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

17. Berstein, Harry, "Brazil: History and Government", *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 4, pp. 468-479.

18. Furtado, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

20. *Ibid.*, p.76.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 84

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

25. *Ibid.*, p., 90.

26. Portus, G. V., *Australia, An Economic Interpretation,* Sidney, 1933.

27. Furtado, *op. cit.,* p. 93.

28. In the case of New Zealand, there was no sudden and rapid inflow of manpower. Therefore, this essential ingredient for industrialization was not present.

CHAPTER 11

The Economic Context and Consequences of the White Lotus and Taiping Rebellions

China prior to European capitalist penetration was the most highly developed feudal society the world had ever seen. Its productive output and volume of trade especially during the Ming and the early Ch'ing Dynasties is acknowledged to have exceeded pre-capitalist Europe. The European Jesuit scholar, Du Halde has written of his travels in early Ch'ing China:

> .....The inland trade of China is so great that the commerce of all Europe is not to be compared therewith; the provinces being like so many kingdoms, which communicate to each other their respective productions. This tends to unite the several inhabitants among themselves, and makes plenty reign in all cities.[1]

During its own feudal epoch China was relatively advanced compared with other societies at this same qualitative period in their development. But as capitalist production relations began to emerge displacing the old feudal ones of the previous epoch in Europe the death knoll for Chinese feudal society, and indeed all pre-capitalist economic social formations was sounded. The coming of the "new barbarians" and the struggle of the Chinese people, of which the peasantry makes up the huge majority, then and now, against them and their indigenous allies set into motion the social forces that have come to transform the face of imperial China.

While the last of the Chinese feudal dynasties came to an end in 1911, during the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. It was not until the northern expedition of the KMT (Kuomintang) against the warlords

or the first Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) that feudal production relations were finally dislodged from the society, for the most part. With the revolutionary seizure of power by the armed people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the Peoples' Republic of China was proclaim before the world in 1948. Since that time the new Chinese socio-political system has gone through many phases. With the institution of the first five year plan with its Mutual Aid Teams and its Agricultural Producer Co-operatives; and the Great Leap Forward, with its rural communes and its emphasis on the development of heavy industry in the urban areas; this process was brought to the point where it now stands (1974). From this will come the new direction in which Chinese society will be moving in the future.

Looking at the development and the transformation of Chinese society using the broadest possible strokes of the historical brush, we find that its economic movement and therefore, its political history logically unfolds and follows a general theme. That theme has as its most central feature the distribution and centralization of the agrarian means of production and the periodic intervention of natural disasters upon this broader process. It is the intention of this chapter to analyze the implications of this theme using the specific cases of two millenarian movements, the White Lotus Rebellion of 1793-1802, and the Taiping Rebellion which endured from 1852-1865.

It is only through the use of vulgar empiricism or some other style of pseudo-scientific quasi-inquiry that the White Lotus and the Taiping Rebellions came to be regarded as essentially religious movements. Karl Marx has a word to say in this connection that can serve to help us arrive at a more objective approach to this subject matter. He states:

> It is the *task of history,* therefore, once the *other-world of truth* has vanished, to establish the *truth of this world.* The immediate task of philosophy, which is in the service of history, is to unmask human self-alienation in its *secular form* now that it has been unmasked in its *sacred form.* Thus the criticism of heaven is transformed into the criticism of earth, the criticism of religion into the criticism of law, and the *criticism of theology* into the *criticism of politics.*[2]

It is historically accurate to assert that religion is a part of these two violent social eruptions. However, in the scientific treatment of these movements a study into their secular political content will yield a more profound knowledge of their real nature.

In general, it seems to be clear that in pre-capitalist societies, especially feudal ones, conscious social movement is justified by articulated religious causes owing to the underdevopment of science and specifically the non-existence of a science of objective social movement. The development and flowering of a scientific approach to inquiry into the nature of the inanimate world, let alone that of the world of the objective study of historical movement, had to await the capitalist epoch. In more sharp terms, it had to wait for the emergence, and broadening of the material basis of its own existence. It was therefore, for this reason that the ideological articulations of the most advanced individuals of a social movement in pre-capitalist or pre-imperialist society took on a religious character. For the feudal European Crusaders it was the destruction of the "infidels" or the "non-believers." For the Chinese who were a little more liberal in this regard because they had a more highly developed feudal form; it was "the mandate of heaven" and the keeping of the "barbarians" at bay. The fact remains that their articulated themes appeared to be "other worldly"[3] in form. But now since we have science, the essentially secular essence of movements of this type can be analyzed. We will return to this point later in this chapter.

A review of the literature about the White Lotus and the Taiping Rebellions dramatically reveal the lack of any serious objective study of these movements even when they are acknowledged at all. Nothing has been done, in English, on the White Lotus of any significance. It is even difficulty to find accurate historical description about either of these movements. Such important social upheavals warrant much more considered analytical attention. It would even appear that they have been categorically neglected. Where there has been some meager attempts made to study the Taiping Rebellion, analysis has fallen prey to vague notions of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois idealism or vulgar empiricism. Perhaps the most helpful works are the two volumes by

Michael[4] which has a comprehensive collection of official documents of the Taiping rebellion. But most of the studies done on it fall within the sphere of sociological studies of the role of charismatic leadership or anthropological studies concerned with the origin and social significance of religious dogma. In these studies, as in all bourgeois social science, or better still all social science fiction, nothing is said about the power relationships that are at play arising from the clash of opposing class within the population. Sociology and anthropology rob society of its most essential aspect, its relations of power. Sharper still, society is robbed of its politics. Nothing has been written as far as can be detected, focusing in upon the the socio-political implications of the critically significant land question comparatively analyzed between these two movements. That is the central task that this chapter has chosen to undertake.

I. The "Dynastic Cycle" and the Rise of the White Lotus Society

It was not until the beginning of the decline of the Ming dynasty that the White Lotus Society emerge as a secret cult. This was an objective occurance. By the time of the fall of the later Ming, China had seen the "Mandate of Heaven" pass in a steady stream from dynasty to dynasty and from monarch to monarch. The ebb, rupture, and flow of agrarian Chinese society has prompted many scholars to refer to this process as the "dynastic cycle." In opposition to this style of formulation stands Walter Rodney, who has conceptualized this process as moving from quantitative increases within the productive efficiency of ancient Chinese society to a qualitative transformation within the general life of the society itself. He puts it in this manner:

> ....By the time of the T'ang dynasty of the 7th century A.D., China had expanded its ecomomic capacity not only to grow more food, but also to manufacture a wide variety of items such as silks, porcelain, ships and scientific devices (science as a method of inquiry was in its primitive stages of development)....This of course represents a *quantitative* increase in the goods produced, and it was inter-related with *qualitative* changes in Chinese society. By the later date, there was a

> political state, where before there were only self-governing units. Instead of every family and every individual performing the tasks of agriculturalists, house builders, tailors, ets., there had arisen specialization of function. (parenthesis added)[5]

This kind of formulation brings to a study of ancient Chinese society an object historical continuity and represents a break with the old bourgeois concept of the "dynastic cycle" which implies that the movement of Chinese society is merely a repetition of the same thing and, in fact does not really change, in the final analysis. It further infers that there is no develpment, and that the struggles within them have no purpose and the outcome of these struggles only results in the maintainence of society at the same level. Using this approach the movement of Chinese society can only be regarded as having no direction, no vitality, and does not advance. With Rodney's help we can see the economic basis of the validity of Chinese agrarian society. He describes the process in this way:

> .....A small section of Chinese society came to take a large disproportionate share of the proceeds of human labor, and that was the section which did least to actually generate wealth by working in agriculture or industry. They could afford to do so because grave inequalities had emerged in the ownership of the basic means of production, which was the land. These changes in land tenure were part and parcel of development in its broadest sense.[6]

Rodney is not here speaking of anything that is peculiar to agrarian Chinese society. The above statement seems to be more or less applicable to any society in the feudal stage of its development. But within the general framework of feudalism there are some particularities that may be found only in Chinese society which would allow for the greater quantitive productive capacity that existed there. Addressing himself to this point by making a comparison between the European mode of feudalism and that within China, he writes:

> .....It (Chinese society) entered the feudal phase of development virtually 1,000 years before the birth of Christ; it had developed many aspects of technology; and it had

> many craftsmen and artisans. Yet the mode of production was never transformed to one where machines were the main means of producing wealth and where the owners of capital would be the dominant class. The explanation is very complex, but in general terms the main differences between feudal Europe and feudal China lay in the superstructure- i.e. the body of beliefs, motivations and socio-political institutions which derived from the material base, but in turn affected it.[7]

Rodney continues by describing the nature and historical importance of the literati and bureaucracy:

> In China, religious, educational and bureaucratic qualifications were of utmost importance, and government was in the hands of state officials rather than being run by the landlords on their own feudal estates. Besides, there were greater egalitarian tendencies in Chinese land distribution than in European land distribution, and the Chinese state owned a great deal of land.[8]

Relevant here is the fact that there was no primogenture in agrarian China. The form that the land transference took from one generation to the next was; after the death of the property owner it was equally divided between the surviving male off-springs. By this process large land holdings was broken down after one generation, resulting in a more equitable distribution of the landed means of production. That is one of the bases of the "egalitarian tendencies in Chinese land distribution" of which Rodney spoke. He continues in this same regard:

> The consequence was that the landowners had greater powers as bureaucrats than as men of property, and they used that to keep social relations in the same mold. It would have been impossible for them to have done that indefinitely, but they slowed down the movement of history. In Europe, the elements of change were not stifled by the weight of a state bureaucracy.[9]

We might add, in this connection, that China had a relatively stable but weak merchant strata. Commerce did thrive. But it did not have the benefit of the products of slave labor as well as the profit from the sale of slaves themselves. To the extent that the European merchant classes benefitted and, indeed as some would argue, came into being from the slave trade, these historically derived stratum are unique. This is of critical significance.

II. The Origin of the White Lotus Society

Let us now turn to the origin of the White Lotus Society. Although we have chosen to focus our attention upon the White Lotus Rebellion against the Manchu monarchy it is essential that we place the development of this cult within the broader movement of Chinese society. In order to do this it is necessary to go back to the latter days of the Yuan dynasty (Mongolian). The White Lotus Secret Society arose in opposition to the Mongolian overlords in the region of what became the Anhwei province in late 1359. Because of famine, higher taxes, and unequal distribution of the land and labor to a greater extent in that region than within the rest of China, leaders emerged who preached and agitated for a change in dynasties. The exploitative pressure of the increase in trade and commerce owing to the greater use of the "Grand Canal"was felt directly by the peasantry. The reigning Yuan dynasty was further able to increased commerce and trade by the construction of two other canals along with the greater use of the Huai river which now allowed for a network of commercial water ways connecting the capital of Peking to the rice rich lower Yangtze region and to the sea.[10]

This increasingly more brutal oppression occasioned by this increased exploitation of the peasantry resulted in an upheaval lead by this cult of lowly illiterate peons. History has shown that it was the peasantry acting independently of the bureaucrats and Confucian intellectuals that brought the Yuan regime to its knees.

Many have questioned the political creativity of the Mongolian rulers using the lack of longevity in their brief rule as the principle yard stick of their political effectiveness. True, they ruled for only ninety-eight years (1271-1368) but during that short time the

productivity of the society increase and they showed some understanding of the importance of agricultural productivity. Kublai Khan particularly revealed himself to be astute in this regard. Acting very much like an innovative agrarian leader. Through the bureaucracy, in a decree issued in the year 1286 after his dynasty had been in power for only fifteen years, Kublai Khan called for the establishment of "communes" consisting of from fifty to one hundred households to come into being throughout the dominion. He thought that this method of organization would facilitate co-operation and increase production. Indications are that it did. The communes had granaries made up of a mutually contributed surplus from member households. Each communal production unit also had a school and taught elementary reading and writing.[11]

There were, however, several negative features that tended to undermine this type of agricultural organization. The first of which was that the land was privately owned still. That set the basis for centralization and the concentration of large plots in the hands of a few. This was greatly stimulated by the huge increases in commerce and trade which we mentioned earlier. The system's second weakness came with the appointment of an elder farmer as a "captain of production", who was usually one of the larger farmers in the region. This gave the landlord the vehicle for legally increasing his land holdings and exacerbation of the inequity in the land tenure system as a whole. By the time of the Great Khan's death at the age of 34 years (1294) , this process was already set into its deadly motion.

Trying to maintain their grip on the boiling pot of Chinese society the Yuan rulers pursued a policy of separation of Chinese from Mongol at all levels of the society to stop assimilation and their own siniciation.[12] All military power was kept in their hands in an attempt to interrupt the development on warlordism. The intelligentsia was disenfranchised and degraded so that they could *not* give ideological content to the movement of the masses as they had done in the past.[13]

In this context the White Lotus arose from the lowest strata of Chinese society. Using elements of Taoism and Buddhism their leader Han Shan-t'ung laid the basis of what appeared to be a religious movement around his own claim that he was a direct descendant from the Sung

lineage. By organizing the secret cult, Han and his followers were preparing an anti -Yuan revolt when their scheme was discovered and Han was put in prison and later executed. At that point another one of the leaders arose from the ranks of the cult, he put Han's son on what they regarded as the "new Sung" throne and became the most powerful of the White Lotus rebel leaders. His name was Liu Fu-t'ung. The White Lotus under Liu along with many other popular leaders that began to emerge as part of a wave of mass peasant insurrectionary activity which was initiated by the cult. These peasant insurgents adopted as their common goal the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty and the installation of an indigenous monarch.

While the basic nature of the insurrection was a peasant movement the rebel leaders that emerged in the region of the Yangtze river basin, all came from the commercial strata of the society. There was, for example-a cloth peddler, a fisherman, a pirate, and two salt merchant rebels.

The general character of this general revolt was anti-foreign domination. It had also a revolutionary-civil feature to it. Under the leadership of Chang Shih-ch'eng a band of peasants not only clashed with the Mongol loyalists, but they adopted a policy of killing rich men in general; be they Mongolian or Chinese.[14]

As popular rebel mass leaders arose from every corner of China it became plain that the most well organized section of the kingdom under the leadership of the most skillful administrators would rise to take control of the whole of the society. As it happened in the north of the same province that spawned the White Lotus cult, Anhwei; a wealthy landlord took his holdings and redistributed them in 3 equal shares among the strongest and healthiest peasants on his land. In the midst of this rebellious wave he emerge as one of the most prominent anti-Yuan figures.[15] But it was not until his death that his protégé, a penniless ex-Buddhist monk named Chu Yuan-chang began to exercise great person influence and to demonstrate extraordinary adroitness at social organization, administration, and military strategy. He proved to be the founder of the Ming dynasty. And so it was that the White Lotus cult was revealed by history to have initiated a series of events that resulted in the fall of an alien dynasty and the establishment of

new and indigenous Chinese dynasty which would be overthrow by another alien dynasty. And again the White Lotus would blossom.

III. The White Lotus Rebellion and the Manchu Monarchy

The Ming regime had come and by its own internal contradiction had gone. But, in spite of all its corruption in its later years, its founding monarch, Chu Yuan-chang, enjoyed the status of a folk hero. Under this lineage, the production capacity of the society increased and in its first century was relatively stable. The Ming *chuang-t'ien,* or plantation system was vital and productive for its time. But as the large land holdings became larger, and as the tax burden became heavier, and as famine gripped the people, and as waste within the regime became more obvious, the peasants again revolted. During this process the Ming were weakened and the Manchus were able to establish their sway in by 1644.

Manchu China under the Chin dynasty flourished. They unlike the Yuan, sought to use the indigenous intellectual bureaucracy at all levels within their state, and to sionize themselves so as to become more powerful ideologically and administratively. They proved to be very effective in these two areas especially during the years of the ascendency of the regime. By using toleration instead of brutal military supression they were successful in disarming Ming loyalism. Over time Mongol intellectuals proved to be scholarly "barbarians" indeed and came to be regarded and, in fact, regarded themselves as "Chinese".

In the 1600 and 1700s the world was a different place. Chinese goods became important in an ever expanding world market. The internal trade was vigorous, but it was her new situation within the world economy that proved to be of decisive historical importance. It was at this point in time that China's productive capacity, and therefore the efficiency of her feudal mode of production, was pitted against others in the area of world trade. Most formidable among her competitors was mercantile Europe, and later Capitalist Europe, and finally Imperialistic Europe.

Students of the political history of late and early Manchu China must admit that she faired well in the century of this competition. Manchu China with its scholarly bureaucratic strata of state

adminisrators demonstrated remarkable innovative skill in the early years in the area of agricultural production. The story of the great advances in flood control and of the enormous increases within the population are familiar to those who have studied this period. Profits on the world market offered an incentive to increase agricultural production. We, therefore, witness increases in the yield per acre of both rice and wheat. Dun J. Li has stated in regard that:

> The fact is, the manual farming as conducted by the Chinese has been and still is one of the most efficient in the world, as far as yield per acre is concerned. For instance, in the production of rice and wheat, a Chinese farm produces more per acre than a mechanized European or American farm.[16]

This statement is important because it implies that the yield per acre of the Chinese farm compares favorably with modern mechanized European and even Americn ones. If this be so, how favorably would such a comparison be for China if agrarian feudal Europe were compared to her?

As the economy of China developed there appeared a relatively weak, but influential merchant class. Hsieh Chao-che, a scholar bureaucrat, observing it in its early stages wrote in 1602:

> The rich men of the empire in the regions south of the Yangtze are from Hui-chou (southern Anhwei, home of the White Lotus), in the regions north of the river from Shansi. The great merchants of Hui-chou take fisheries and salt as their occupation and have amassed fortunes amounting to one million taels of silver. Others with a fortune of two or three hundred thousand can only rank as middle merchants. The Shansi merchants are engaged in salt, or silk, or reselling *grain*. Their wealth even exceeds that of the former. (Italics and parenthesis in the original)[17]

This sector of the population grew stronger so that by the 18th century, there were instances of individual and family fortunes of 10,000,000 taels or more[18]. It has been reported that the combined profits of about three hundred families trading in salt during the period

from 1750 to 1800 reached 250,000,000. It is also known that the Fukien ports of Ch'uan-chou and Chang-chou where most of the international trade with the African slave trading mercantile state of Portugal took place was well endowed with a stable Chinese merchant class. The Wu family of Canton is acknowledged to have amassed in their trade with the west some 26,000,000 Mexican dollars.[19] Of these merchant strata it was the merchants of Hui-chou that were the most famous. It was said of them that "No market is without the people of Hui-chou."

It is true that the commercial power of this merchant class derived its power from peasant labor. It is also true that the Hui-chou merchants originated within the same region from which the first rebels of the White Lotus Society emerged in an earlier time. What remains unclear is the role of this strata directly in the actual White Lotus rebellion. It can be established, from a class analysis of the society at that point in its political history, that there existed a class outside of officialdom that was becoming more sharply opposed to the reigning dynasty. It could also be argued that it was becoming a progressive, if not, revolutionary force in China's history. The developing commercial strata were, however, weak compared to similar strata in European society of that same period. The character of these classes within the context of Ming China was slightly different owing to their relationship to the powerful bureaucratic sector of the society. If it can be established that these merchants were beginning to act as an independent force within the existing order and that they were beginning to become involved, even to a limited extent, in the rebellion on the side of the peasantry; then an argument can be made that the White Lotus rebellion was the beginning of a bourgeois type revolutionary within the context of China. Certainly, the fact that it coincided with the French Revolution and the slave Revolution, with bourgeois content, in Haiti almost to the year adds credibility to this line of thinking.

The White Lotus as a secret counter state continued to exist from prior to the Ming dynasty and remained relatively strong in rural China. It did not become openly rebellious, until it underwent reorganization in the province of Shantung with a man named Liu Sung as its leading

figure.[20] In the year 1774 there was another in Honan after which Liu was arrested and imprisoned. The remaining leadership then regrouped and was successful at the organization of a peasant force in the province of Anhui. It was Anhui which served as a focus for the heavy fighting that went on from 1793 to 1802 in five other provinces. The Manchus responded with "Inquisition"[21] style repressive measures. So intense were these measures that around the city of Wuch'ang within the short span of four months some 20,000 people, some of whom were thought to be connected with the White Lotus were beheaded.[22] Many innocent people were killed as well. The surviving remnants of this "Inquisition" were successful at picking up the pieces and organizing a "Long March" to the northwestern region, in the manner of Mao-Tse tung, where they were able to resist until they were crushed in the year 1802.[23]

Though they were royalist which spoke of returning the Ming feudal monarchy to the throne from a previous period in Chinese history, few would doubt that this massive rebellion weakened the reigning dynasty and rendered it along with agrarian China, vulnerable to the voracious appetite of rapidly expanding western capitalism, and its bourgeois pseudo-egalitarian ideas. That will remain the historic legacy of the White Lotus.

IV. Manchu China and Western Imperialist Penetration

Since more has to be written about the Taiping Rebellion within the context of Manchu China using the available empirical evidence we are able to more accurately and reliably determine its impact upon the world economy. This also gives us the capacity to offer a valid analysis of its land system and other aspects of its innovative social order. Indeed it was precisely its more egalitarian social order as evidenced by its land policy that makes possible the various claims of more political equality which has come to be the hallmark of the Tiaping as a movement to those who studied it.

By the time of the Taiping Rebellion (1852-1865) capitalist penetration and subversion of Chinese markets had become a *fait de accompli.* The first Opium War (1839-1842) had affirmed that fact. Marx in an article published in the New York Daily Tribune - June 14, 1853 - wrote of the effect of capitalist England's penetration into the Chinese domestic market system. He wrote:

> The tribute to be paid to England after the unfortunate War of 1840, the great unproductive consumption of opium, the drain of precious metals by this trade, the destructive influence of foreign competition on native manufactures, the demoralized condition of the public administration, produced two things; the old taxation became more burdensome and harassing, and new taxation was added to the old.[24]

Within the same article he pointed to the historic process that continued to weaken the Ch'ing monarchy as the weight of foreign capital became heavier. Accordingly, he advances the following:

> All these dissolving agencies acting together on the finances, morals, the industry, and political structure of China, received their full development under the English cannon in 1840, which broke down the authority of the Emperor, and forced the Celestial Empire into contact with the terrestrial world. Complete isolation was the prime condition of the preservation of Old China. That isolation having come to a violent end by the medium of England, dissolution must follow as surely as that of any mummy carefully preserved in a hermetically sealed coffin whenever it is brought into contact with the open air.[25]

He continued this line of logic in the following fashion:

> Now, England having brought about the revolution of China, the question is how that revolution will in time react on England, and through England on Europe....[26]

And we might add through Europe on America.

For our purposes it is not necessary to go into every detail with regard to the effect of the Taiping Rebellion upon the world economic and political situation at that time. It is however necessary to make some general points in this connection.

It has become clear that the Taiping Rebellion succeeded in restricting the newly opened giant market which was China. England's export to

China had grown from a small L600,000 in 1836 (before the repeal of the trading monopoly of the East India Company) to a fantastic L3,000,000[27] by 1852. Though it is difficult to assess how much the Rebellion affected this trend, Marx cites inflation in continental Europe and England as an index of the disruptive effect of the Taiping Rebellion upon the sensitive world market of that period.[28]

Viewing the political consequences of this Chinese social upheaval, Marx has this to say:

> ....it may safely be argued that the Chinese revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system and cause the explosion of the long prepared general crisis which, spreading abroad, will be closely followed by political revolutions on the (European) Continent.[29]

What is being said here? It is plain that the Taiping Rebellion would, or at least, had the capacity for the creation of a crisis within world production and market relations. (We should keep in mind that he was writing in 1852, one year after the rebellion broke out). From this he predicted political upheaval within Europe. There are three questions that arise at this point. The first is: What was the politico-economic nature of the Taiping Rebellion itself? The second, which flows from the first is: What was the nature of the politico-economic forces at play in the world at that time? And the third, flowing from the other two- using our twenty-twenty hindsight-is: What of historical significance actually happened? Let us now proceed with the remainder of this discussion systematically answering these three questions.

V. The Politico-Economic Nature of the Taiping Rebellion

There are many scientific historians (Marxists), idealistic liberals, and assorted others who have studied the Taiping Rebellion and have come to the conclusion that, in its secular form, it was an egalitarian movement cast within the same mold of the American Bourgeois Revolution, the Bourgeois Revolutions in Europe and in Japan along with emancipation of slaves in the western hemisphere. These upheavals are generally regarded as part of a generalized struggle for more democracy that was occurring in many parts of the world at

that time.

The economic basis of the society that allowed it to be dedicated to the practice of a more humane type of equality lay within the attempted redistribution by the "Kingdom of Great Heavenly Peace", of the landed means of production.

This was not the first time that there had been an attempt at redistribution of the basic landed wealth in China. Other rebellions and new regimes spawned from rebellious upheavals have addressed themselves to this great need. But never before in Chinese history has there been something this advanced and far reaching. Although the "Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty"(T'ien-ch'ao t'ien-mou chih-tu) was said, by the rebel leaders, to be based upon the land policy (Chou-li), an agrarian political system, of the founding monarch of the ancient Chou dynasty during the twelfth century.[30] This land reform policy had profound revolutionary implications. It undoubtedly represented probably the most advanced land redistribution program up to and including that time that this planet had seen.

Their program called for the abolition of private ownership of the land, and an equal distribution of land usage among the peasants of the "Kingdom". Incorporating this into their military policy, the Taiping peasant army burned deeds, rent documents, and other such official records as they expanded their armed might. Bureaucratic functionaries, Buddhist monks, and members of the gentry were killed and their land and property confiscated.[31] Regarding this, S.Y. Yeng, a newly acclaimed liberal oriental scholar says:

> .....For this reason the Taipings caused the common people little trouble. They concentrated on burning government buildings and killing Manchus, the gentry class, their servants, and local militia members. Thus, the rebels were popular with the poor people. The Taiping army frequently distributed to the common people valuables and food which had been taken from the families of high officials and the affluent gentry.[32]

In an official document issued in the third Taiping year (1854), the land system is outlined. The manuscript entitled "The Land System of

the Heavenly Dynasty" is thought to be the work of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, the principal leader and architect of the Taiping state. The document states in part:

> The division of the land must be according to the number of individuals, whether male or female; calculating upon the number of individuals in a household, if they be numerous, then the amount of land will be larger, and if few, smaller; and shall be a mixture of the nine classes (graded on a scale according to productivity). If there are six persons in a family, then for three there shall be good land and for three poorer land, and of good and poor each shall have half. All fields in the empire are to be cultivated by all the people alike.[33]

In addition to the points already quoted, the land policy stipulated that: Persons above the age of sixteen years were given use of a plot and those below that age received half-plots. Allowance was also set forth for a public granary for each community. After all of this, provisions were then made for people to be moved from places where land yield was insufficient for their survival. Great stress was placed upon collective work and equal sharing of the products of that labor.

> .....There being fields, let all cultivate them; there being food, let all eat; there being clothes, let all be dressed; there being money, let all use it, so that nowhere does inequality exist, and no man is not well fed and clothed.[34]

The Taiping land system, like the classical Chou-li from which it was supposedly derived was not only a land distribution scheme. It was a scheme for rural administration. It was a rural administrative, judicial, military and educational system as well. For example, the smallest collective economic and administrative unit was the twenty-five family grouping. The public store house and the community chapel was supervised by, what would be regarded as essentially, a military officer(a sergeant). But he also served as a teacher-preacher, since the chapel was also the school. The lower level officials were sometimes elected and superiors were often criticized by inferiors as part of the "Democratic spirit"[35] that prevailed.

These same kind of democratic practices were also extended to women. Traditional customs that victimized them, such as bride selling, foot-binding, prostitution, the slave trade, and polygamy, were banned. In this matter as well as others, however, there appeared to be a double standard at work. One for the leadership, and the other for the rank in file. There is evidence showing that the most important leadership figures of the rebellion had concubines.[36] Perhaps the most convincing demonstration of the equality of the women in Taiping society, aside from the equal usage of the land, was the fact that they had "a women's army"[37] reputed to be over 100,000 in number. A greater degree of freedom of religion was also part of this democratic spirit. In an edict issued in November of 1860 (in the eight Taiping year), the regime allowed missionaries of all of the christian faiths into their administered zones.[38]

It is difficult to access the extent to which these sweeping plans, programs, ideas, and policies were implemented. What is known, however is that favoritism and corruption did seep into the rebel regime as it attempted to wage war and to consolidate its rear. As time went on this weakness began to reveal itself more and more. In the land policy statement mentioned earlier, is found this passage:

> These meritorious officials of the original following shall through successive generations enjoy heavenly emoluments; as for those who have since joined the cause, under each army every family shall provide one man to serve as a private.[39]

Later on in a document issued in October of 1862 (in the tenth Taiping year) , the regime was defending wealthy families in order to maintain its tax base. The document also urges tenant farmers to pay their rent to the landlords[40]. The document, as it turns out, is a form document and amounts to a certificate of protection. In another document that came out later (January 25, 1863) to a family of the landed gentry who had already been issued a certificate of protection, the Taiping asked the family to pay their taxes to the officials in the city, since, apparently the family *did not* trust the local ones because of graft practices. In the document this curious statement appears.

> .....Although circumstances have changed and times are different, ceremonial regulations and institutions are still as if in their tracks.....Furthermore, we, the titled ones, cannot reach everywhere with our ears and eyes and when malpractices arise, from whence can we learn of them.[41]

Within a few short years the Taiping leadership had gone from a policy of confiscation and redistribution of the property of the gentry to the protection of it. The Chinese revolution had degenerated, and indeed would be crushed all together shortly after the edict that was referred to above was issued.

It is not difficult to imagine why history required that this man, Hung Hsiu-Ch'uan, the figure that played the leading role at that point in the unfolding of a politico-economic saga that would lead China to industrialization and beyond, adopted the trappings of a western religion based upon the teachings of the leader of a millenarian cult(or secret society) from a previous period in its own history. Was not Jesus, himself, the leader of an anti-Roman millenarian secret society?

The "Protestant reformation" and "the Age of Reason" which was in its secular form the cultural and ideological arm of the bourgeois revolutions that swept Europe, America and to a limited extent Japan; had come to China. There it was facing the West in the form of an armed Chinese Taiping Peasant.

What was required of China, in order for her to be able to transform herself from what had, by the time of the Taiping Rebellion, been shown to be an archaic feudal mode of production resulting in gross inequities within the distribution of the products of the largest labor force in the world; was embodied in crude form within the Taiping land policy. Though crushed, its "land to the tiller" basic theme would be resurrected in new and richer form by the Nationalist Party (KMT) under Sun Yat-sin. And history has shown that had it not been for a scientific understanding of the role of land in agrarian China, Mao Tse-tung would have remained an obscure librarian and only his friends and acquaintances would have known his name.

By the time of the revolutionary seizure of power by the armed people of China, religion had given way to science; theology had given

way to revolutionary politics; philosophy had become the articulations of the day to day activity of producing people; as the problems of the Celestial Dynasties were resolved by the redistribution of the landed means of production.

VI. The Nature of the Politico-Economic Forces at Play in the World

It is clear from the previous section of the paper that at the time of the Taiping Rebellion in China, nothing could happen in this world of a social nature without affecting other things in it. A system of world exploitative production and exchange had already gone a long way down the road to swallowing up every little society on the globe. The old cliche, " that has nothing to do with the price of tea in China," was revealed to be quite hollow. In fact, the inflated price of Chinese produced tea in England, and the rest of Europe as a consumer item that was caused by the disruption effects of the Taiping Rebellion. Furthermore, it could be argued that the disruption and the constriction of the Chinese market to western goods, in general, as a result of the Taiping Rebellion had far-reaching effects upon the international capitalist system.[42] Not only was the price of tea affected, but that of cotton and many other commodities. And as is the case when the price of cotton went down, the slaves in Southern United States rose up resulting in the eventual toppling of the American ruling class, the plantocracy. Such was the nature of a world situation that placed the rebels of the Taiping in objective opposition to expanding world capitalism.

VII. The Historical Significance of What Actually Happened

Reading Marx's view on the matter of the vicissitudes of the world market, and the Taiping Rebellion's impact upon it, we can plainly see that he was predicting upheaval principally within the industrial areas of the world[43]. And it is accurate to say that in the late 1840s there was much within those areas which he undoubtedly had his eyes trained upon. It is also accurate that the Paris Commune of 1871 proved to be the high point of this activity. Marx was able to predict this type and style of upheaval ten years prior to its occurrence. But Marx is no

soothsayer.

Two things happened that we can now point to, but he could not fully grasp at the time. The first was that the Taiping Rebellion, though a powerful convulsion on the Chinese landscape, only lasted for eleven years after which the markets were again opened wide and capitalist penetration and the export of capital resumed and increased. More importantly, the restricted Chinese market during the Rebellion resulted in new initiatives in other parts of the world by the capitalists. Markets were opened and stabilized in Africa. The need for an understanding of the implications of this very significant process cannot be understated. The affirmation of this came at the Berlin Conference of 1885. There are other considerations that might be mentioned in this regard. They need not be elaborated upon, however. The emancipation of the slaves in the new world gave them wage earning power and greatly increased the market potential to be found in the Western hemisphere. These lucrative new markets and the increased production efficiency within the metropoles allowed for a greater proportion of these benefits to be realized by the working classes there. This process blunted the revolutionary cutting edge of the European Proletariat. The style and quality of life for all strata of metropolitan society proved to be more highly developed than that which occurred within the Third World. As a matter of fact, Walter Rodney has shown that it was the underdevelopment of the rest of the world that was a historic prerequisite for the development that we know exists within the metropoles[44].

SUMMARY

The White Lotus and the Taiping rebellion of Agrarian China have been shown to be events of great politico-historic importance. We have attempted to explore some of the economic context within which they occurred, in order to establish some historical continuity and to arrived at some knowledge of the objective consequences of these movements within Chinese society itself as well as the rest of the world.

Notes

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2. Bottomore, T. B., ed.; *Karl Marx: Early Writings*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964, pp.55-56.

3. Wilson, Bryan, "Millenianism in Comparative Perspective, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Oct., 1963, p. 94.

4. Michael, Franz, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, Vol. I & II, Seattle, 'University of Washington Press, 1971.

5. Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House, 1972, p. 12.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

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10. Li, Dun J., *The Ageless Chinese: A History*, New York, Scribner's Sons, 1971, pp. 263-264.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

12. The Yuan Dynasty (a mongol dynasty) fears that they were becoming more like the Chinese. Hence, they were becoming more "sino" in their culture. This process can be referred to as "siniciation".

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-274.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

18. *Op. cit.*, pp. 69-71

19. *Ibid.*

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21. Eberhard, Wolfram, *A History of China*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1960, pp. 284-285.

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25. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-92.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

30. Foster, William Z., *The Negro in American History*, New York, International Press, 1956, pp. 239-259.

31. Teng, S. Y., *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, Vol. II, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1971, pp. 104-116.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

33. Michael, Franz, *The Taiping Rebellion; History or Documents*, Vol. II, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1971, p.313.

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35. Teng, *op. cit*, p.114

36. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

37. *Ibid.*, p.109.

38. Michael, *op. cit.*, Vol III, pp.926-928.

39. Michael, *Ibid.*, Vol II, pp.312-313.

40. *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp.1020-1022.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 1028-1031.

42. Marx, Karl, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-92

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CHAPTER 12

The Bauxite Politics of the Caribbean

From the very beginning of human history with the rise of the social surplus and consequently the development of trade, production for exchange or trade, that is to say, commodity production has been the basis of exploitation of mankind by other groupings of opposing mankind. Commodities, which have been scientifically defined as products that are produced in order to be exchanged for other products, has set man against himself in all societies where they are produced to any large degree. This has to occur because in societies where commodity production exist, the social groupings or classes that are engaged in the actual labour that goes to create the commodity are put into a position where, by definiton, that which they have produced- by virtue of the exchange process- is separated from them. It goes to benefit others. The producer therefore, is torn away from what he has produced. Furthermore, he is not only alienated from what he has created, by his labour, but the commodity itself assumes the capacity to imprison its creator. The creature begins to dominate its creator.

Of the appearance of commodities in bourgeois society, Karl Marx has written:

> The wealth of bourgeois society, at first light, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity.[1]

In a very real sense, the capitalist epoch represents the period in human social history were commodity production has reached its highest level. Although all commodities ultimately have some perceived use value. Virtually everything is produced, in a capitalist society, not to be used by its producer but to be exchanged.

The course of human social history can be looked at as a succession of the forms that social organization continues to take, each form superseding its predecessor as overall productive capacity continues to increase. In this process we have witnessed the role that the production of certain pivotal commodities have played as a component in the complex of processes that have energized human history.

It is important *not* to look at history as merely the succession of the production of one commodity which is in its turn superseded by the production of another. What is of fundamental importance in this regard is the manner in which societies, of necessity, have had to organize themselves so that the production of certain commodities can be carried out. This consideration becomes crucial when an analysis is being made of the polity of a given society. The way in which a society organizes itself for its own reproduction or the form that production takes in a given social setting determines, to a great extent, the manner in which power relationships are defined within that setting. From this it is easy to see how the production of certain commodities or, at least, the impact that the production of certain commodities exert upon the form that production takes (its mode). The production of a certain commodity or commodity cluster may also act upon relations of production in very specific ways. This has great significance in attempting to comprehend the nature of the political struggles going on within any given society and in the world. Even more especially is this true in this age of the division of production on a world scale which is by definition part of the imperialist epoch into which the international capitalist system entered at the turn of the century.

The forward march of mankind in his quest for increased productive capacity has been punctuated by what may be termed *historical pivotal commodities*. These are commodity clusters which, owing to the relative scale of their production, have exerted a profound influence upon subsequent social organization. An obvious example of such a commodity cluster is the emerging production in textiles upon which the industrial revolution was able to be consummated during the mid 1700's.

To students of scientific history the role of salt production in generating enormous increases in food surpluses and further stimulating

trade is familiar. Gold as a commodity itself and as an indispensable lubricant in pre-industrial mercantile capitalist trade and as it continues to lubricate modern industrial capitalist trade is again a well known fact. Another example of the pivotal character of the production of certain commodities is provided to us by slave plantation produced sugar. Here we have a commodity that served as the basis for the form of peripheral capitalist production, the slave plantation, from which massive surpluses were extracted with the direct consequence of enabling the merchants of Europe to challenge their landed aristocracy. The aristocracy was eventually overthrown, as history tells us, in the bourgeois upheavals that marked that continents painful development for the best part of 400 years. The slaves themselves and labor, in general, as a commodity has continued to be the most fundamental ingredient in the production process. In our times, palm and crude oils first as industrial lubricants, then as a primary energy source in the form of an emergent central petro-chemical cluster along with its associated metal complex, has come into being as an essential part of an expanding metropolitan industrial infrastructure.

Not only has the production of certain *historical pivotal commodities* served the process by which societies re-organized themselves for more efficient production, but by negative implication, has served to break down old outmoded forms of social organization as well. It is, therefore, the purpose of this study to first establish bauxite as belonging to a historical cluster of pivotal commodities by demonstrating that its production has helped to begin the process of the reorganization of certain Caribbean societies thus affecting the polity of the region. Secondly, to begin an examination of the role of bauxite production along with the production of similar commodities in the underdevelopment process in the Anglo-phone Caribbean. Here we will access the role of the mini petit-bourgeois state superstructure in this sequence of events which is taking place as a consequence of changes at the level of the economic base within Caribbean society focusing, again, upon the Anglo-phone nation states.

In order to convincingly demonstrate that bauxite is, what has been termed an historical commodity; it must be shown that its production has, in a real sense, brought into being new social strata as

part of the reorganization of the region polity. An attempt will be made to point to an ascendant reform petit-bourgeois stratum to show that it is they who are attempting to reproduce themselves by nationalization and other schemes as the polarity between them and the laboring masses increases. This analysis will draw heavily from the Guyanese and Jamaican situation since they are the only countries in the Anglo-phone Caribbean with bauxite/alumin industries.

I. The History of Bauxite in the Anglo-phone Caribbean

The Aluminum Company of America incorporated the Demerara Bauxite Company in what was then British Guiana in 1916.[2] Although the Geological Survey Department of the Colony had discovered large deposits of Bauxite ore laying along the Demerara River as early as 1910, British and European companies seemed uninterested in the find.[3] So it fell to Alcoa operating through its agent Mackenkie to gain possession of the land containing the rich deposits. From the beginning the American MNC engaged in deception. The land right next to the navigable Demerara River was bought up under the pretext of using it for a citrus plantation.[4] The Demerara Bauxite Company was, therefore, incorporated in 1916 for the specific purpose of beginning the extraction of bauxite ore, a process which has continued on an ever increasing scale having all manner of social consequences.

A process that had begun with the founding of Alcoa within the context of the United States in 1888 with its East St. Louis Alumina plant and its bauxite mines in Georgia and Arkansas as increasing vertical integration took form, had by 1916, spread to British Guiana and later to Dutch Guiana as this particular Trans-National Conglomerate began to stretch forth its greedy tentacles. It was with the exploitation of bauxite that Alcoa was able to become a giant MNC possessing 25 percent of the alumina and 16 percent of the primary aluminum production capacity of the capitalist world at the present (1974) time.[5]

i. The Extraction of Guyanese Bauxite

Using Guyanese bauxite mined at Demba as its primary source of raw ore, Alcoa incorporated Aluminum Limited in Canada. This move,

which occurred in 1928, allowed ALCOA the advantage of maintaining its image of working with and investing within the British empire and therefore aiding the process of metropolitan accumulation through political forms that acted as fennels for the channeling of surpluses to the more developed regions of the world.

Aluminum Limited, the parent company of the present day ALCAN, MNC, provided an opportunity for what was essentially American capital to circumvent U.S. laws designed to prevent large corporations from taking part in foreign cartels and other such economic arrangements.[6]

ALCAN was the U.S. based privately owned Multi-national Corporation which began in approximately 1928 and remained the primary institutional mechanism by which a process that continued in an uninterrupted fashion to rip off the bauxite of the people of Guyana for decades. It was not until the years of the Second Imperialist World War that a new dimension was added to this process accelerating and augmenting it.

As we are aware, the bourgeois democracies of the West or the allied powers, excluding the USSR, were able to be democracies in the first place because of the exploitation and therefore the tyrannical oppression that was maintained as part of the day to day life of their colonial possessions. To a great extent, their armies were victorious, in the second place, because of the use of soldiers from their colonial empires and the use of the resources from the underdeveloped world as the basis of their war industry. As a result, it is historically incontestable that aluminum came to play an indispensable role in the allied war effort. During this critical period government subsidies brought about an unprecedented expansion of the war related military industrial complex. The bourgeois democratic regimes, as part of their strategy of military industrial mobilization; granted, in the form of a loan, the sum of $ 173 million (U.S) directly to ALCAN in order to increase their production in military hardware.[7] On this same point Norman Girvan, the Jamaican economist has written:

> ....Guyana's bauxite therefore contributed markedly to the victory of the Anglo-American power system over that of

> German-Japanese, more specifically, it was the base upon which ALCAN's assets grew from U.S. $45 million in 1928 to U.S. $423 million in 1950, and its aluminum production grew from virtually zero to over 400,000 tons.[8]

Girvan goes on to emphatically reaffirm the implications of this type of exploitation for those living within the developed world on the one hand, and for the people of Guyana on the other. He puts it in this manner:

> .....For Guyana, what this meant was that the country's natural resources were wedded to the industrialization of the North American economy and to the accumulation of the power and wealth of the Davis and Mellon families. In the meantime Guyana remained under-developed, and Guyanese poor and economically impotent.[9]

During the post-war period the basic pattern of state subsidies continued within the overall strategy of using capital investment to "aid" the underdeveloped countries in their development. While this remained a stated objective, the desirability of which is at best questionable, capital flows from metropolitan to peripheral countries remained minimal. Direct corporate capital investment and re-investment was, for the most part, flowing between developed countries with some going to regions of the underdeveloped world with growing industrial sectors or to countries with raw mineral mining sectors.[10] The industrial and mining sectors operating within the context of the disjointed economies of underdeveloped countries provided indispensable resources for the industrial elaboration that went on as secondary tandem processes in the finishing stages of production taking place within the manufacturing sectors of the metropolitan economy.

Investment in the raw mineral mining of bauxite fitted directly into this emergent post war pattern. Because of the shifting political situation in the post war world, capital investment flows to underdeveloped regions were also shifting. In the case of Guyana whose people were demanding independence and whose leadership organization, the People's Progressive Party, was openly declaring itself

to be Marxist; there was a shift to the mining of calcined bauxite. It was deemed tactically unwise by the imperialist to invest further in Guyana as a primary resource supply for the rapidly expanding aluminum industry.[11] The continued mining of calcined bauxite is not an essential part of aluminum production and elaboration. A corollary factor in this shifting investment pattern as it applies to post-war Guyana the need by the imperialist to maximize the profits on the capital that already existed in the region. That was the primary reason for the construction of a small alumina facility during this period. By doing this Alcan sought to utilize the accumulated waste of the previous fifty years of bauxite mining.[12] This small investment was undertaken even within a "politically unsafe"situation in order to protect, to a limited extent, the super profits that had historically been extracted from Guyana. This was taking place, however, within the overall tendency of an investment flow shift away from Guyana as a primary bauxite supplier for the metropolitan aluminum industry.

ii. The Shift to Jamaican Bauxite

It was at this point that the initial investment in Jamaican bauxite was commenced in 1950. Within the American metropole the over-riding need to increase military reserves of aluminum through stockpiling proved to be the critical underlying factor in the development of a governmental policy towards its new and more profitable source of aluminum ore, Jamaica. The U.S. government began to institute this generalized policy under the stated diplomatic aim of granting much greater economic aid to the new government of Jamaica after 1953.[13] But even prior to this the American government was seeking to break the unchallenged monopoly of the ALCAN-ALCOA combine as the only supplier of aluminum to its military stockpiles. The Korean military intervention was drawing heavily upon its reserves and it (the American State) needed to be in a better bargaining position with regard to the private sector which was producing its military hardware as its only reason for being. So when bauxite was discovered in Jamaica with its low "overburden",[14] its closeness to the American Gulf ports, therefore, its alumina processing facilities, and its high grade quality because of its low silica content along with a number of other factors;

the American government seized upon this opportunity to make sure that Kaiser and Reynolds would have a primary source of high grade bauxite ore. This was done to continue the monopoly breaking strategy that was begun by the U.S. government against ALCAN-ALCOA when it almost gave to Kaiser and Reynolds all of its production plants(U.S. government operated facilities) and related capital which it had initially accumulated during the five years proceeding 1950.[15] So by the time of the "Cold War" breakneck stockpiling brought on by the arms race, the American government was being supplied by three different aluminum producing multi-national corporations.[16]

Additionally, the American government sought to facilitate a generalized expansion of the industry. This was carried out, in part, by the Defense Production Act of 1950 which allowed for massive governmental outlays which took the form of accelerated depreciation allowances over a five year period on all new production capability in aluminum and/or alumina demonstrated by any of the firms. Furthermore, this enacted legislation provided for the sale of all aluminum to governmental stockpiles which resulted from this expanded capacity and which could not be otherwise sold.

The expansion of the Aluminum industry was not only predicated upon state purchases for increasing stockpiles for strategic purposes but upon the increased use of the metal as a replacement for metals previously used in the private sector. In the areas of automotive production, buildings materials, and all manner of consumer durables, such as appliances; the use of aluminum began to multiply its already extensive use as the central commodity within the new commodity cluster which was the backbone of the "military industrial complex".

II. Foreign Investment and the Myth of Capital Starvation

Traditional bourgeois liberal development theorist buttressed by Kayesian economics would have it that the primary reason for the poverty that exists within the non-metropolitan world is because of its lack of capital. From this most backward formulation has come the many justification for the maintenance of all manner of superstructural institutions and entities that reinforce the basic relations of production in which the generalized capitalist mode of social organization

finds its basis.

A few preliminary remarks will serve well in giving us some bearing as we approach a brief analysis of this crucial question. The international capitalist system, defined by its basic exploitative relations of production has been and continues to be responsible for the division of the world into *metropolitan regions* which have as the following general- though unequally distributed characteristics: 1) Economic prosperity, 2) political freedom, and 3) a high standard of social existence. And counter-posed to this *peripheral regions* which have as their general- though likewise unequally distributed characteristics the following: 1) Economic backwardness, 2) political tyranny, and 3) a very meager standard of social existence. This historically valid characterization of the world also contains as one of its tenants the structural integration of these peripheral economies into this world system of exploitation. It is through these linkages that the underdeveloped world is systematically ripped off, maintaining the general economic prosperity, political freedom, and the high standard of social existence spoken of earlier in metro society. The international capitalist system is integrated at the level of the economic base and at the level of the superstructure. Because of this it is impossible to speak of the same or even similar patterns of social development within metro and peripheral societies. In a real sense, the overall pattern and origin of capital investment has, of necessity, come to be an integral part of the array of factors mitigating against any form of real development and continues to serve this continuing process of underdevelopment.

A cardinal principle of social development holds that the form by which a society reproduces itself or its mode of production circumscribes, and to a large extent determines, the social formations such as institutions, classes, as well as the overall ideological orientation of a given society. These formations serve to preserve the existent social relations of production which, as part of the productive forces of a given society serve to advance or retard its productive out-put. Productive capacity is advanced when the new production relations emerge and act in such a manner as to augment productivity. In this instance social progress is being made. When, however, productivity is being hamstrung by old production relations serving to interfere with increasing productive output; human social

progress is not being made and where that exists the society is in a generalized state of decline. In the case of the Anglo-phone Caribbean the flow of investments into the region continues to serve to maintain the existent mode of production which is again the basis of the underdevelopment that abides there. *Additionally, the social formations that spring from this mode of social reproduction at the level of the superstructure are deformed and distorted as they reinforce this generalized processes of continuing underdevelopment that finds its origin within the economic base of the society as a whole.*[17]

This leaves us with the conclusion that a consideration of the degree of capital investment from the developed world will only help clarify our thinking concerning the basic nature of the dynamics of underdevelopment if, and only if, as part of our analysis we carefully evaluate the role of the form that these investment take. If this is done we will be in a position to critically evaluate the historical consequences of such investments.

Hilbourne Watson, a West Indian radical Political Scientist, comes to some of the same conclusions, using general investment figures of which bauxite investments constitutes a large share, about the degree of capital starvation in the Anglo-phone Caribbean. He has written this concerning the origin of these investments:

> .....it can be seen that American capitalists control the master share of capital and are followed by British and Canadian investors. At the end of 1967, U.S. capitalists owned U.S. $1.9 billion of investments in the area, compared with U.S. $637.6 million by the British investors and U.S. $431 million by Canadian interests. These three groups together own U.S. $2,577 billion in investments in the Commonwealth (Anglo-phone) Caribbean.[18]

Watson goes on to explain that the general tendency is towards an increase in investment inflows. He puts it in this way:

> From 1967 to 1971 the volume of investments increased dramatically by U.S. $1.2 billion. This represented a 48.6 percent increase or an annual average increase of 12.5 percent. Guyana was the only country to have registered a "book value" decline in investments and this resulted from the nationalization

> of ALCAN's assets. *In terms of the volume of investments, the Commonwealth Caribbean is not capital poor.* Based on an inflated population estimate of 7.8 million, this represents a *per capita* investment of about U.S. $500.00.(Emphasis added)[19]

Watson then comes to the heart of the matter by advancing the following:

> It is obvious, then that it is not the amount of investment that can explain poverty, indebtedness, or underdevelopment, but rather how investments are used within the system of production and distribution of wealth.[20]

III. Bauxite and Underdevelopment

Here we will attempt to put forth an analysis of some of the most significant consequences of bauxite as the leading sector in the underdeveloped economies within the Caribbean. The analysis will try to show how the introduction of a massive bauxite mining operation into an essentially agricultural economy with a large subsistence sector coupled with a substantial section which produces for a domestic market; sets into motion certain dynamics that result in poverty and misery.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the two countries in the Caribbean with bauxite as their "leading sector" - Jamaican and Guyana - is that these national economies are not internally self sustaining. They are dependent upon external sources for the artificial dynamism that their ruling classes are trying to pass off as real development to their own population and to the rest of the world. Because foreigners own and control the bauxite industry in Jamaica directly and in Guyana indirectly, the surpluses continue to accrue to the United States of North America and to the rest of the developed world. This is the basic reality from which the other considerations within this analysis will, of necessity, flow. This pattern of foreign capitalist ownership and control despite the various nationalization and latter day partnership schemes concoted by the reigning petit-bourgeoisie continues unabated within these two national economies and through other so-called "leading sectors" in the region generally. In fact this has been found to be one of the most

pervasive features in the underdeveloped world. What are some of the consequences that this has wrought? In the first place, because it has lead to a bulcanization of these economies against themselves this has resulted in 1) an increased dependency on import/export activity, 2) the alienation of land and increased poverty, and 3) the immobility of capital between sectors of the economy.

i. Increased Dependency on Import/Export Activity

A generalized increment in import/export commerce in and of itself is not necessarily a sign of underdevelopment. As a matter of fact, it could mean that the reverse is the case. What is being indicated here is that import/export activity is taking place at the expense of the development of an integrated system of domestic production and exchange. On the ascendency of the bauxite industry and its effect on the agricultural exports, mainly sugar of Jamaica, Norman Girvan has this to say:

> The high level of output achieved by the industry (bauxite) in the space of a few years, and the revaluation of imputed bauxite prices in 1957, added a large new export industry in the Jamaican economy in less than a decade. The value imputed to its exports soon displaced the value of exports of the country's traditional agricultural commodites.[21]

It must be kept in mind that the agricultural sector of the Jamaican economy is itself heterogeneous. That is to say, it is divided into a commodity export sector, mainly sugar plantations, and a small scale subsistance production section which might also include that section which produces food stuffs for domestic consumption. While the introduction of the bauxite affected both sections of the agricultural sector resulting in some political changes, its impact upon the small scale subsistance domestic sector has the most far reaching implications.

As bauxite replaced plantation sugar as the largest taxpaying industry resulting in an expanded state bureaucracy, a new wing of the petit-bourgeoisie came into being.

With regard to the subsistance small scale domestic section of the agricultural sector, Carl Stone, the social democratic reformist Jamaican

Economist has written the following:

> The extensive acquisition of agricultural land to facilitate bauxite mining has easily predictable consequences. These included the displacement and dislocation of farmers and their families; the alienation of good agricultural land; the acceleration of large concentrations of land holdings and a decline in small peasant holdings; the direction of infrastructural development such as roadways and water supplies to facilitate the bauxite industry without reference to or regard for the needs of local rural communities; and the uncontrolled pollution and deterioration of the quality of land without much concern for the effected environing communities.[22]

We will return to a more indept treatment of the question of land alienation and some of its many ramifications later in the presentation. At this point we will continue our evaluation of changes within the pattern of import/export activity.

ii. The Alienation of Land and Increased Poverty

It is an incontestable fact that domestic agricultural production began to stagnate in the face of rising domestic food demand during the period of the ascendency of bauxite production as the leading sector of the economy. In regard to small scale agricultural productivity, in particular and the agricultural sector in general, Norman Girvan is once again instructive when he writes that:

> .....for the agricultural sector as a whole, there were (i) falling land and labour imputs to the large farms as well: (ii) the absolute substitution and the relative substitution of citrus and cattle, for other farm products in terms of land imputs on farms from 25 to 500 acres and over in size; and (iii) static, if not falling, productive efficiency of land and labour inputs in the small farm sector. Overall, the only output increases of significance recorded were for cane and citrus; the output of other traditional exports either decline or

> remained at about the same level, and that of most domestic food commodities declined, as did the number of cattle.[23]

Based upon the above Girvan goes on to conclude that:

> .....Under the impact of sustained and significant rises in personal disposable income, a growning population, increasing urbanization, and a dynamic tourist industry, domestic consumption expenditure on food grew from lbs 30 million to lbs 81 million between 1950 and 1966. With domestic production stagnant or growing only very slowly, it was not surprising that import expenditure on food grew quickly. The value of food imports increased steadily from a level of lbs 5 million in 1950 to lbs 29 million in 1968.[24]

The conclusion is inescapable that although there was an increase in per capita income in the form of wages, these wages were being used to buy more and more foreign produced commodities, even food. The imperatives of the capitalist mode of production were requiring that, on the production side, huge surpluses were being extracted from Jamaican labor. And on the consumption side, massive profits were being realized all accruing to metropolitan based MNCs; while Jamaica, an agricultural peripheral region was being forced to buy foreign produced food to feed a large proportion of its population.

This line of thought, of course, leads us once again right back to the question of land alienation and increasing poverty. This problem is not only related to regions in the Anglo-phone Caribbean where bauxite production is prevalent, but is a common phenomenon even in areas where the "leading sector" of the economy is tourism or even petroleum. In the Leewards and Windwards foreign ownership of large land tracts for Hotels, Luxurious home, Golf courses in areas where land is already limited, is a real problem. The result is that in Barbados where this problem is particularly acute, the country's capacity to produce food has been drastically reduced. A similar situation exists in Trinidad-Tobago and Guyana with their relatively long histories of petroleum and bauxite industries respectively. This process is more advanced within these two countries. But even in the case of Jamaica,

where bauxite-aluminum industry has had a recent history, the process is beginning to knife its way across the island swelling its urban population, increasing its immigration to metropolitan regions- which is now being curbed, ballooning its ranks of the unemployed and generally intensifying the misery of its suffering masses.

This process of uprooting and dislocation large quantities of potential labor which serves to keep the price of labor perpetually low leads us to our next consideration- the question of the mobility of labor and the immobility of capital.

iii The Mobility of Labor and the Immobility of Capital

Due to the introduction of capital intensive bauxite-alumina production, the flow of labor and capital has been affected owning to the existant mode of production.

In an attempt to bring some aspects of this question into focus it is necessary to first look at the market dynamics of the movement of capital and then to consider some of the structural characteristics of the MNC, in as much as, they relate to the movement of capital and labor within a underdeveloped setting.

Afghiri Emmanuel gives us some insight into this general question as he emphasizes international market dynamics as a central factor in most of his key formulations. In this regard, he advances the following:

> Since the prime problem for capitalism is not to produce but to sell, capital moves toward countries and regions where there are extensive outlets and expanding markets, that is, where the population's standard of living is high, rather than toward countries and regions where the cost of production is low. It thus moves toward high-wage countries, neglecting those where wages are low. This is true not only of foreign capital flowing in but also of the small surplus formed locally in low-wage countries. Unable to find attractive investment opportunities on the spot, owing to the narrowness of the market due to the low wage level, this local surplus is either wasted in luxury consumption or is expatriated and invested abroad, bring about those movements of capital that have

> been called 'perverse' because they run from countries where there is a shortage of capital to countries where it is plentiful.[25]

While there is much in this statement with which one might disagree or which might warrant further clarification, the general principle of the movement of capital from peripheral to center nations is correct. Additionally, the limited market, because of low-wages in the peripheral situation, is a fact. This also bears upon the inability to accumulate and form capital in a peripheral context even from the surpluses that are realizable from these narrow local markets. Taking this line of reasoning one step further, it is the vertically integrated MNC as a structural entity that was designed to facilitate the process of capital mobility which flows toward the metropoles. By implication, of course, it follow then that this vertical integration which is an intrinsic feature of the MNC serves to mitigate against the movement of capital between different sectors of the peripheral economy and therefore against any meaningful local accumulation born of surpluses extracted from any limited local market.

Girvan helps us come to a much more fuller appreciation of this vital consideration as it applies to the expansion of the bauxite/alumina industry within the Jamaican situation. He informs us that the internal structure of the MNC requires that it operate in such a manner as to reflect its own bulkanization when placed in a peripheral context. He writes:

> In the first place the surplus-albeit inputed-generated by each subsidiary firm in the industry is not necessarily or automatically available for the expansion of that subsidiary within Jamaica. One can envisage a situation, for instance, where the expansion of alumina capacity or the establishment of aluminum capacity within Jamaica is feasible according to market and cost conditions, and the 'imputed' surplus generated by a particular subsidiary-firm is sufficient to finance the project in whole or in part. But, because of the particular conditions and opportunities of the MNC, it might determine to expand alumina or aluminum capacity in some other location.[26]

IV. The Multi-National Corporation and Underdevelopment

The central point that is being made here is that the MNC structurally is vertically integrated as well as, in most cases, horizontally integrated. This has certain implications insofar as the overall manner is which the surpluses are to be utilized. The basis for this decision is not the growth and development of the peripheral economy in which the subsidiary-firm is operating, but the expansion and the augmentation of the MNC's profit making capacity.

Even where there are surpluses in excess of the capital needs of a given subsidiary, structural and other factors mitigate against capital transfers within the peripheral economy. With regard to the corrollary problem of limited financial resources available to a given MNC, Girvan has this to say:

> .....the surplus is not available to other subsidiary-firms in the industry at all. One firm may generate a small surplus and may be deprived of expansion because the MNC of which it is a subsidiary is relatively small or weak financially. This subsidiary-firm cannot make use of the surplus generated by another subsidiary-firm in the same industry, even where this surplus is in excess of the capital needs of the latter. *Capital mobility within the industry in Jamaica is non-existent.* (Emphasis added)[27]

Finally, in this connection, a given subsidiary may not be financially strong enough to support expansion; but the total surpluses extracted, say in Jamaica or Guyana taken as a whole, might be large enough. Where this is the case, again the organizational structure acts against such an expansion of the industry within the non-metropolitan situation.[28]

Thus far we have been considering capital mobility within the bauxite/alumina industry and therefore within the MNC which is the concrete form that the industry takes within the underdeveloped world in most instances. Now let us turn our attention to the case of capital movement between the bauxite/alumina sector and other sectors of the economy. The plain and simple truth is that surpluses are not transferable to other industries primarily because of the vertical integration of the MNC which ensures that the flow of surpluses will

be toward the metropoles. This has already been discussed in connection with the section of this presentation that treats with the form and amount of foreign investments along with some of the implications for underdevelopment that such a relationship holds. So we have come full circle and have once again returned to the profit making purpose and specific structure of the MNC which has been identified as the most central and is the key to a clear appreciation of this matter.

V. Bauxite and Social Classes

The introduction of the bauxite/alumina industry into the contemporary Anglo-phone Caribbean added a new dimension to the already existant class configuration that had historically developed there. After the emancipation of the African slaves in 1838 two different pattern of class organization emerged. The underlying basis from which these two distinctive patterns sprang is the comparative availability of land to support the independent existence of the ex-slaves. We therefore have, on the one hand, certain areas of the Anglo-phone which witnessed the rise of an independent subsistence peasant class as a stratum of its society. This stratum, though primarily engaged in subsistance production was also engaged in small scale production for an emerging domestic food market. Areas of this type would include Guyana, Trinidad-Tobago, and Jamaica. On the other hand, we have regions where post emancipation availability of land was lacking and therefore, no independent peasant stratum developed. Areas of this type would include Barbados, Antigua, and St. Kitts.

George Beckford, the Jamaican economist provides reinforcement for this point as he writes:

> .....Immediately the slaves sought an independent existence and made it difficult for the plantation owners to secure their labor services for wages. But the extent to which the ex-slaves could divorce the plantation depended on the availability of land.[29]

Going into the question further, Beckford moves on to explain some of the measures that the plantation owners had to resort to in order to satisfy their requirements for waged labor in areas where land was available to support an independent African peasantry:

> .....In the territories where more land was available the ex-slaves were able to establish themselves in independent cultivation and the plantations had to introduce measures to secure their continued labor services on a wage basis. These measures included all kinds of legislation which made it difficult for black people to secure land and taxes which would force them to work for wage(s) to secure cash payments of the taxes.[30]

In addition to this, in these regions, a system of peonage was initiated to satisfy the plantation's labor demands. But perhaps the most effective means used for quenching their thirst for labor was to entice indentured labor from India to come to Guyana, Trindad-Tobago, and to a much lesser extent, Jamaica. This policy lasted until 1917 and saw tens of thousands of East Indian immigrant laborers find their way into the Caribbean adding to the racial diversity of the region.

Thus, in the smaller islands of Barbados, Antigua, and St. Kitts, the social fabric is characterized by 1)a relatively intact plantation system with a rural agrarian proletariat, 2)a small petit-bourgeoisie based upon agricultural commerce linked to a old guard Plantocracy, 3) greater racial and ethnic homogenity, and consequently, 4) less industrialization and urbanization. In the contemporary period (1975), a relatively new phenomenon is taking place. In these societies the new leading sector of the economy is, more often than not, tourism. With the rise of a mini state bureaucracy which marks the ascendency of a new wing of the petit-bourgeoisie the new "leading sector" has become an indespensible source of revenue. This new revenue serves to augment the power and expand the bureaucratic petit-bourgeoisie. Of course, it goes without saying that this whole process acts to perpetuate the underdevelopment dynamic which is a most basic feature of these societies.

In the larger territories of the Anglo-phone such as Guyana, Trinidad-Tobago, and Jamaica we have slightly different social characteristics. They include the following: An agrarian sector which contains; 1) a stratum of old guard planters, 2) a layer of rural wage earning proletarians, 3) an independent small scale farming peasantry, and 4) a stratum of sharecropper peons. In the urban industrial and

commercial sector there exist; 1) a layer of the commercial petit-bourgeoisie, 3) industrial proletariat and semi-industrial workers with a significant unemployed section, and 4) a lumpen-proletariat declassed population. For our purposes here, it is not necessary to go into a detailed description of these different strata of society. It will however, serve us well if we were to point to some of the broader contours of these social configurations before bringing in the role of the bauxite/alumina leading sector in the process of underdevelopment and the consequent alteration of this class configuration.

Guyanese, Trinidad-Tobagan, and Jamaican society is not only more diverse racially and ethnically but is more complex when comparing their rural traditional economy with their emergent urban economy which are each within themselves more complicated. The social and political processes of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization has gone further in these regions and therefore, the decline in the overall social potency of the Plantation as the dominant social form impacting the polity of the general society has become a pronounced tendency over the last two decades. It is essential that this process be grasped in order to gain a fuller appreciation of changes within the economic base which inevitably manifest themselves at the level of the political superstructure in specific ways.

Because the plantation system has historically acted against any democratic reform, the possibility for democratic change is enhanced as it loses its sway within the societies where it once was dominant. In Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad-Tobago the bauxite/alumina industry has played a significant part within this process of plantation decline. In Trinidad-Tobago the petroleum industry has also played a similar role. Our attention here is, however, focused upon the bauxite/alumina industry and its impact within these societies.

The greater generalized social diversity which has become characteristic of Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago, and Guyana is partly due to the fact that the vertically integrated MNC has created entirely new strata of the population and has weakened others as a part of the process. Let us now turn to a consideration of how this has occurred.

The rise of the bauxite/alumina MNCs has stimulated the ascendency of a new wing of the petit-bourgeoisie. The old commercial

petit-bourgeoisie which acted as the middle men as they provided the brokerage for, primarily, agricultural exports and imported finished products from the metropoles began to rise to top level positions within the new neo-colonial mini state. With the rise of this new wing of the petit-bourgeoisie within, what has been erroneously called "the public sector",[31] this new petit-bourgeoisie began to assume a new racial character. The Syrians, Chinese, Lebanese, Portugese, and "High Browns"[32] began to loose their monopoly within the petit-bourgeoisie and were joined by more "High Browns" and darker African bureaucrats of the government and of the Trade Unions. The bauxite/alumina industry became the leading source of government revenue and therefore the basis for providing the lucrative salaries of this new wing of the petit- bourgeoisie.

It should be mentioned here that we are including the military as part of the state bureaucracy along with the police as they both serve a constabulary function within the Caribbean as well as the rest of the underdeveloped world. We are also including the educators as they are part of the state sector of the economy since their salaries are paid by funds from state revenue which, are for the most part, collected from the MNC in various forms. From this it is easy to see why it is in the interest of the petit-bourgeoisie generally to increase taxes and royalties flowing into the government from the MNC.

Trade Union bureaucrats do not derive their salaries from state collected revenue but from the salaries of the workers themselves. However, since the old guard union elite have, for the most part, become part of the state, the linkages between the state and its fiscal policy and the trade union leadership is very real. It can, therefore, generally be said that the petit-bourgeoisie is reproducing itself as a social stratum through the state.

But it is not only through the state that it is accumulating wealth. Because of the lucrative salaries which are often invested in some small local commercial enterprise there is some nominal accumulation outside the state sector itself.

At the level of the market, with the introduction of the MNC in an underdeveloped area, per capita income usually jumps. The index is one of the things that metro bourgeois economists usually point to

as an indicator of what they call "economic growth". While it is true that a figure that they call "per capita income" is larger, in reality, it is not an income increase that is, in fact, "per capita" in the society at large. It is, in point of fact, an increase which accrues to the "per capitas" of the petit-bourgeoisie. Here the effect is a general increase in the market capacity of the petit-bourgeoisie for the many assorted forms of luxury goods that are imported for the special tastes of these new conspicious consumers. This spending often takes bazaar forms. Sometimes it is referred to as the Mercedes Benz/Jaguar culture which is rooted in Westminister Politics which finds its origin in contemporary capitalist production relations.

With regard to some of the other consequences of the impact of the MNC upon the social stratification of the Anglo-phone Caribbean, we have already mentioned that the alienation of large blocks of peasant land by the bauxite/alumina enterprise uproots rural labor. While the MNC creates jobs that are filled by some of those displaced by this process the nature of the industry is capital intensive. Relatively speaking when compared to other areas of the economy, few jobs are obtained in this sector. The net effect, therefore, is the swelling of the ranks of the unemployed. Make no mistake, the MNCs have produced an industrial proletariat in the classical sense but the proletariat is numerically small when compared with other layers and strata of the society. It contains a large section which only is marginally related to the production process, in as much as, they periodically labor in one section of the economy or another.

This land alienation process has also increased the ranks of a genuine lumpen proletariat which for generations have not labored in any sector of the economy. This lumpen is not to be confused with the unemployed except for descriptive purposes only.

In addition to the forgoing, the relative wage and work condition differential between sectors of the economy creates a situation where labor is mobile and, in fact, flows towards the bauxite/alumina industry during periods of expansion resulting in higher labor demand. This sets up conditions where bauxite workers or workers in related supportive roles to the bauxite/alumina industry gain certain real material privileges.

The rise of these strata acting in combination with the more traditionally developed pre-bauxite strata has thus altered the class configuration of the Anglo-phone Caribbean. Consequently, the polity of the region has undergone certain profound changes as well in recent years. For example, perhaps the most pronounced feature of the dominant petit bourgeois politics of the region is the intense political party rivalry. This rivalry has been termed by some as "political party tribalism".[33] It abides in Guyana with an ethnic twist and it has grown extreme intense in Jamaica. This particular brand of "tribalism" is rooted in the corrupt patronage system used to gain blind party loyalty from a certain section of the desperate rural and urban unemployed and the lumpen. And of course, we have already seen that this unemployment arises from land alienation caused , to a large extent, by bauxite/alumina production.

Another aspect of petit-bourgeois politics comes into play when an evaluation of trade union affairs is being made. Because of the linkage between the reformist trade union movements operative within the monopoly sector of metropolitan North America and Western Europe and those which have arisen within the "leading sector", especially where the "leading sector" is the mining and transport of minerals; a stratum of trade union bureaucrats has arisen as a section of the petit bourgeoisie. This coupled with the real privileges of MNC workers relative to the remainder of the labor force has revealed itself at the level of the polity in the following ways: 1) The very profound connections between the petit-bourgeois parties and the union aristocracies. Quite often the union and the workers within the mineral and dockage sector were the principle force behind the drive for national independence guided by the petit bourgeoisie. 2) The economistic demands that the "leading sector" workers advance through their unions. Just as the union has become the economic bargaining agent so that limited concessions consistent with the maintenance of the existing mode of production can be gained, the petit- bourgeois state has become the political negotiation agent so that the same process can be reinforced.

Within the international arena these petit-bourgeois states maintain a posture of negotiating concessions from the imperialists in order to be

able to increase their constabulary at home. These two aspects of the same process are mutually reinforcing and necessary. Internationally, they appear to be taking progressive stands on certain issues while they increase their repressive apparatus at home. They have to become more firm and demanding with the imperialists so that the increasing costs of maintaining their repressive states can be borne. In short, they have to be more firm and demanding with the imperialists for the sake of imperialism.

It is from this prospective that recent attempts at the nationalization of bauxite by the petit-bourgeois government of Guyana and certain overtures in that direction on the part of their class betheren at the helm of the Jamaican state must be regarded. From the outset it is necessary to deal with the critical consideration of the class nature of nationalization. The process of nationalization is no more than a tactical tool of the class having state power at a particular juncture in history. Therefore, if the bourgeoisie rules within the more developed nation states of the world, then the tactical option of nationalization may be exrcised in order to reinforce the capitalist style of social organization and thus maintain their class rule. It is therefore, a weapon of reaction. Within the capitalist periphery where appendages of international bourgeois rule are found in the form of local home grown petit-bourgeoisies, then the nationalization option can and does serve to entrench them and, by implication, capitalist social organization and is likewise a weapon of international reaction as it is manifested within a specific local region.

Within the Anglo-phone caribbean the nationalization of bauxite/alumina production was begun by the Guyanese petit-bourgeoisie in 1971 in order to increase their revenue from ALCAN. That year the government decided to nationalize the assets of Demarara Bauxite, a subsidiary of ALCAN, the parent company. Following this in 1975 Reynolds Metals was taken over and is now being run by the state-owned Guyana Bauxite Company (GUYBAU).[34] It is interesting to note that during this same general period the defense budget of the Guyanese government doubled, which is an indication of the degree and direction of the expansion of the state bureaucracy.

The increasing tendency of the reluctant exercise of the

nationalization option in addition to the manner in which a certain section of the ruling petit-bourgeoisie reproduces itself-is made necessary by the ever deepening crisis of the international capitalist system. A general world crisis which has to be responded to locally by these pint size petit-bourgeois states is a part of the future of international capitalism. Much like the sergeant in the field who knows more about running an army which is what is required in order to stay alive in the face of a more progressively organized fighting force-these local petit-bourgeoisies know more about what is required for capitalism to maintain itself, in the short term, than do metro bourgeoisies back in the capitals of the nation states at the epi-centers of the international system.

Just as all reform is reluctant, the manner in which the Jamaican petit-bourgeoisie has chosen to increase its state revenues from the bauxite/alumina industry stopped somewhat short of nationalization. In 1975 their latest attempt in this direction took the form of legislation which required that the six MNCs operating within this sector of the economy pay a production levy of J$ll for each ton of bauxite extracted, among other stipulations. This reportedly has increased the annual revenue returned to the Jamaican government from J$ 30 million to well over J$ 150 million.[35]

The recent formation of the International Bauxite Association (IBA) is an indication that the negotiating efforts of these local petit-bourgeoisies has become a generalized tactic within the Tri-centennial world. The IBA with its offices located in Kingston, Jamaica and its highest official, Henri Guda, a tax lawyer from Surinam represents governments within whose combined territory some 80 percent of the world's bauxite is produced.

In the future we will witness more and more "cooperation" between metropolitan MNCs and various petit-bourgeois governments which exercise the nationalization option. It is for them, simply a matter of the realization of surpluses generated at the point of production through attempts at the stabilization of the rate of profits at the level of the market. In this connection this partnership between metro bourgeoisies and local petit-bourgeoisies which pursue the policy of nationalization has another side that is seldom mentioned. On the side of the cost of

capitalist expansion, peripheral governments through incentive subsidies cut theses cost substantially. Therefore, much of the cost of expansion which would ordinarily come from a proportion of the surplus re-appropriated directly from the Metro MNC is channeled through the local state and ends up financing new capital outlays nevertheless. Nationalization seen from this vantage point then is a logical attempt by the local petit-bourgeoisie to increase its share in the process.

As a result of this we are witnessing more and more cooperation among these various local petit-bourgeoisies as they seek to further entrench themselves in a attempt to reproduce their class on an international scale. For example, there is the proposed joint venture project between Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad-Tobago where the use of alumina from Jamaica and Guyana will be combined with the natural gas fuel reserves of Trinidad-Tobago to produce aluminum. The effectiveness of this "cooperation" remains to be seen.

VI. Revolutionary Political Implications of the Process

One final consideration needs to be made in this assessment of the politics of bauxite. That is, what are its implications for revolutionary politics? While it is one thing to subjectively assert that the unemployment, suffering, and misery that abides in the islands of the Caribbean generally and the Anglo-Phone Caribbean in particular, can only be eliminated by a revolutionary transformation; it is quite another to show how the changing face of imperialism from its more naked and direct political character during colonial times, to the manner in which present day MNCs operating through nationalized assets by a local petit-bourgeoisie. The latter, it seems, is a more fruitful and instructive avenue of approach. This, of course, is part of the increasing class polarity that will eventuate in revolutionary transformation in the long term.

With this in mind, it can easily be seen that the overall general trend that characterizes Caribbean society in the contemporary period(1975) is, on the one hand, increased repression on the part of these petit bourgeois states which is having the effect, on the other hand, of bringing the producing masses more directly into conflict with it. The struggle between the workers and the peasants and the

imperialist MNCs is being superseded by the struggle between the workers and peasants and the petit-bourgeois state which represents the imperialist presence in their midst.

The increasing crisis of the international capitalist system has required that the petit-bourgeois state assume more of the responsibility for the use to which metropolitan capital is put. The burden of the continued long term decline and decay within the capitalist system must, therefore, fall upon the shoulders of these states. The bauxite/alumina sector of the economy has created directly and indirectly a small proletariat in the classical sense. There workers, owing to their privileged position, have also been bribed to a limited extent. There is evidence that this dynamic is beginning to reverse itself as the MNCs as well as the petit-bourgeois state becomes more and more unable to deliver the increased economistic wage and other demands of these workers because of the deepening economic crisis within the overall system.

Plainly and simply, the overriding reality within the contemporary Caribbean(1975) is that increased repression and tyranny is becoming *law* and the producing masses are beginning to have no other alternative but to resort to the use of revolutionary violence against the local imperialist state in order to bring *order* to their society. Wherever tyranny is *law,* revolution will bring *order.* That is the way in which the whip of the counter revolution drives and energizes the revolution. It is true in the world. It is true in the Caribbean.

Notes:

1. Marx, Karl, *Critique of Political Economy* (New York, International Publishers, 1970) p. 27.

2. Girvan, Norman, "The Guyana-Alcan Conflict and the Nationalization of Demba" in *Readings in Governments and Politics of the West Indies*, Trevor Monroe and Rupert Lewis eds., (Mona, Jamaica, U.W.I. Publication, 1971) pp. 226-228.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. Muller, Charlotte, *Light Metals Monopoly*, (New York, AMS Press,

1968) pp. 88-92

8. Girvan, *op. cit.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. Girvan, Norman, *Foreign Capital and Economic Underdevelopment in Jamaica*, (Mona, Jamaica, U.W.I. Publication, 1971) pp. 2-6.

11. Girvan, Norman, *The Guyana-Alcan Conflict and the Nationalization of Demba*, op.cit., pp. 227-228.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Girvan, Norman, *Foreign Capital and Economic Underdevelopment in Jamaica,* pp. 18-24.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. The big three were: Alcan-Alcoa, Reynolds, and Kaizer.

17. Amin, Samir, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1974)Vol. I and II.

18. Watson, Hilbourne, *Nationalism, Nationalization, Socialism and Repression in the Commonwealth Caribbean*, paper presented at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, April 28-May 1, 1976, Chicago, pp. 29-32.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. Girvan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

22. Stone, Carl, "Bauxite and National Development in Jamaica", in *Essays on Power and Change in Jamaica,* Carl Stone and Aggrey Brown (ed.), Dept. Of Government, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, 1976, p. 346.

23. Girvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Emmanual, Arghir, *Unequal Exchange*, (Monthly Review Press, New York), 1972, p. 372.

26. Girvan, *op. cit.,* p. 97.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Beckford, George L., *Persistent Poverty*, (London, Oxford University Press), 1972, p. 90.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. This designation is problematic because the line dividing the "public" from the "private" sector is of little analytical value, to say the least.

32. "High Brown" is a popular term used in the Anglo-phone Caribbean to refer to very light skinned African Caribbeans. The term is similar to the African American term "high yellow".

33. Watson,. *cit.*Hilbourne, *op*

34. James, Canute, "Caribbean Bauxite Industry", *Africa*, November, 1975, Africa Journal Ltd., London, p. 53.

35. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 13

Angelo Herndon and the Repression of the American State

The case of Angelo Herndon's struggle for bourgeois democratic rights and immunities goes straight to the heart of one of the most pressing questions for activists during these times(1974). Because Herndon was Black and because he was a worker, a serious study of his case yields many valuable insights into the question of the relationship between the struggle of Black people within America as an independent national formation and the struggle of the white working class sector of the American population. More directly though, the case of Angelo Herndon is a study in the flexibility of the capitalist state.

In this particular chapter, an attempt will be made to examine the legal prosecution of Angelo Herndon during the 1930s. We will proceed by first offering an analysis of the local southern regional interests which he opposed as they have historically developed. Here we will provide the immediate context for his activism so that we can better see why his organizational and mobilizing efforts may have been perceived as a threat by the regional authorities. Secondly, we will attempt to assess the rapidly changing national and international political situation paying particular attention to the shift in policies within the American Communist Party and the Communist International (the Comintern)as the case progressed through the courts. And finally, we will review the reasoning of the judges and the specific questions of law involved as an approach toward spelling out, in some detail, how the bourgeois state responds to challenges and crises.

I. Angelo Herndon and the Development of Capitalism in the U.S. South

In the southern region of the United State capitalist production relations developed rapidly after its subordination by the victorious

northern industrialists during the second American Bourgeois Revolution (the Civil War). The relatively new production relations that defined the "new South" reached their fullest maturity within such highly industrialized areas as Birmingham, Atlanta, Memphis, New Orleans, and Houston. All of these areas were developing significant urbanized, Black, marginal working class populations by the mid 1930s. Though their economic condition was wretched[1] and their electorial political situation was impotent, for the most part, they did continue to struggle for the essentials of life and for basic human dignity (bourgeois democratic rights).

In the urban areas the financial and industrial interests were still directly linked to the landed agrarian interests in the rural areas.[2] The alliance was forged during the reconstruction period when northern commercial capitalists took control of the large blocks of land which were formerly owned by the old southern plantocracy.[3] Land belonging to the plantation system was, at first, confiscated by the federal government, held in large blocks then sold to financial and commercial interests from the north. Significant holdings in land were thus systematically kept out of the hands of Blacks. As a result a large sharecropper population of landless and small landholding peons developed and continued to supply the basic labor for the continued production of cotton.

Many poor whites were siphoned off the land from the up country regions into the cities where they labored in the industrial sector of the relatively new urban economy of the south. Black labor was required by this type of situation in the backward rural sector of the economy, while relatively privileged white labor was usually found in the textile mills of the cities. This type of arrangement proved quite profitable for the southern branches of the northern capitalist interests that ruled the country.

Politically, "Jim Crow" reinforced and sealed off white labor from Black labor. The Supreme Court, as well as other institutional branches and levels of the American government united with local authorities on every major issue concerning the control of Black rural labor in the South. Supreme Court rulings in the *Slaughter House Cases* of 1873, in *U.S. v. Reese* of 1876, in *The Civil Rights Cases of 1883*, and in *Plessy v. Ferguson* 1896. And indeed, these rulings at the federal level

of the U.S. government condoned a reign of terror upon the Black population of the South specifically designed to keep Black labor in its proper place as democratic rights were continually denied.

The requirement for Black labor within the cities began to dramatically increase as a result of the expansion and consolidation of American monopoly capitalism which took place during and immediately after the First Imperialist World War. One of the resulting effects of the war was to further open up the world markets for American produced goods. This allowed American Blacks to begin to seek marginal employment within the industrial sector of the expanded economy. In Birmingham, Blacks were hired into the mines, in construction, and in the steel mills; when they were "lucky" enough to find that type of urban work. In Atlanta, they worked in construction and in textiles; again when they were allowed to work at all.

From their new position within the society Blacks could now begin to launch their drive for democratic rights. In a real sense, the Herndon case represents one of the early conscious efforts within this drive. Herndon's personal struggle foretold, in vivid relief, the story of the negative intolerance of the McCarthy period resulting in all manner of state sponsored repression. But in spite of the "red baiting" madness of those times his case also foresaw his peoples' mass struggle for civil rights and Black Power which take place with the massive mobilization of Black laboring people within the same region of the country beginning two decades later.

Angelo Herndon was a young Black political activist in both Birmingham and Atlanta, two of the largest and most well developed southern cities during the 1930s. In Birmingham, he was a union organizer, became a member of the Unemployment Council of the city, and joined the Communist Party.[4] He also did organizational work in Camden County, Alabama, among rural sharecroppers, urging and laying the basis of a sharecroppers' union struggle.[5] After much harassment and intimidation at the hands of the Birmingham police he moved to Atlanta in 1932 to continue his work as an Unemployment Council organizer "among Black and White workers."[6] By the time he reached Atlanta he was a seasoned, experienced, and skilled organizer who had touched base with and knew the people of the rural and

urban south of both races.

Discussing the situation which greeted him in Atlanta, he wrote:

> The acute unemployment situation in the South in 1932 created the acid soil in which the 'American Fascist Order of the Black Shirts' blossomed out in all its exotic rankness.....To Atlanta's eternal shame may it be recorded that it was one of the principal centers in the country for these (fascists) whites. Full twenty-one thousand white jobless joined the Order there.[7]

II. The Mass Mobilization

After some months of meetings, research and underground educational work the Council issued a leaflet calling for a massive demonstration of workers to demand the following:

(1) The release of all workers arrested and framed up on charges of vagrancy. For the repeal of the vagrancy law.

(2) That each unemployed worker with a family should get $4.00 weekly, no matter how small the family is. But in the case of a large family, the amount should be enough to provide for the whole family, e.g., if t here are twelve in a family, the amount should be $12.00 per week, etc.

(3) There should not be any form of discrimination in the distribution of this relief, against Negro work ers, mainly, and other workers who do not have families, etc.

(4) Half of the above amount to be paid in the form of cash and the other half in scrip, e.g., if a family were given $6, half of this amount should be paid in cash and the other half in scrip.

(5) That the city and county begin immediately to make arrangements to provide 11/2 tons of coal for all unemployed workers for the winter, beginning with September first, and ending the latter part of April.

(6) That the city and county officials and their government provide shoes, clothing, free meals and car fare to schools for the children of the unem ployed workers of Atlanta.[8]

Keep in mind that the country was in the midst of "the great capitalist periodic crisis of over production",[9] which is commonly called "the Great Depression" by popular and tradition writers. This economic crisis was so severe that even the white workers were beginning to see that the Black worker was not his enemy,[10] as he could not feed his starving family either.

Let us examine the political content of this leaflet, in order to see what it was being said that made it so "inflammatory." After a brief review of its content we will look at some of the political consequences of its issuance.

In the first demand it was essentially addressing Black people's condition as a marginal part of the industrial work force. Vagrancy laws were designed so that the southern capitalists could round up Blacks who were jobless in the urban areas and send them back to the countryside in times when they were not needed as a reserve army of labor, or more directly as scabs. But more often than not, they would simply be sent to labor for free on the notorious chain gangs that were part of the system of southern institutions under capitalism designed to extract surplus value, in a special way, from Black working people. In fact, hundreds were being sent back to the farms as the economic crisis deepened in the south during this difficult period. Special police were even hired to arrest people who did not have any "visible means of support."[11]

Most of the demands on the list, however, were for increased welfare benefits in the form of monies, food, clothing, or coal for winter heating. Along with these was the third demand which called for no discrimination in the distribution of the welfare benefits. Herein lies the reason for the great fear of the local authorities of what Herndon and The Unemployed Council was doing. They were combining the civil rights of the southern Black with the struggle of workers for a better life. In this period of economic crisis it was becoming increasingly difficult for the local financial interests to use the weapons of racism and

discrimination to pacify the white workers so that they could be used against his fellow sufferer, the Black man.

The demands raised in the leaflets were addressing basic bourgeois democratic welfare rights which the New Deal would grant to white workers throughout the country and withhold from Black workers in the rural south until the 1960s and 70s. The Unemployed Committee in Atlanta called for the rights to be equally granted relief without discrimination. For the south prior to the New Deal this was indeed threatening.

The Unemployed Committee issued ten thousand leaflets with these demands calling for a mass demonstration in front of the Fulton County Court House of both Black and white unemployed workers and sympathizers. The leaflet was secretly distributed to the homes of the people most affected by the situation. It triggered an unprecedented peaceful demonstration of one thousand men, women, and children of both races, in the heart of the south land.

The tactic of militant, non-violent confrontation, something that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Non-violent Coordination Committee (SNCC) would use later with great effectiveness, was used with great effectiveness, on that early summer morning in 1932 in Atlanta.

It proved to be so unnerving to the local authorities that the next day it was announced that $6,000.00 was added to the relief fund. Beyond that, the twenty-three families which it was announced would be dropped from the relief rolls were reinstated.[12] This mass action was an out and out victory for the Unemployed Committee of Atlanta.

III. The Repressive Response by the Local Authorities

The repressive response by the desperate local interests to this well organized and disciplined mobilized offensive mounted by the poor against them was immediate and severe. Many of the known leaders were arrested and brutalized by the police. Herndon himself was hunted and finally abducted and held without being charged. He was formally indicted on July 22, 1932 for his action in "attempting to incite to insurrection" during the July 16th march and rally.[13] The action was brought under an old Georgia Law designed to punish slaves

for insurrectionary activity prior to emancipation and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.

After conviction in a lower court the case was appealed to the Supreme Court. It refused to hear the case in 1935. A liberal writing on the circumstances of the indictment and of the nature of the archaic law under which the indictment was handed down, puts it this way:

> The police, without warrant, ransacked Herndon's lodgings and found radical literature. Militant demands for Negro rights take on sinister significance when connected with the presence of a young Negro organizer in a southern community.....(laws) were scanned for a law to rebuke this impudence. With glee the authorities uncovered a statue passed in 1861, setting a death penalty for "incitements to insurrection." The original purpose of the law was to prevent an uprising of the slaves. As amended in 1866 by the carpet-baggers to prevent the uprising of whites, the law allowed imprisonment from five to twenty years, at the discretion of the jury.[14]

Suffice it to say that Herndon was indicted, brought to trial in January of 1933 in Fulton County Superior Court, found guilty, and sentenced to serve from eighteen to twenty years at hard labor. Thus the long litigational struggle began for the constitutional rights of this nineteen year old Black Communist activist. .

IV. National and International Significance of the Case

As the case itself developed, it became clear that it had far reaching and long term effects both within the American State and internationally. The duration of its course in the actual litigation process spanned a time frame stretching from July of 1932 to April of 1937. Many things happened that affected and were affected by the proceedings in this critically significant legal case. The most important of these were: 1) the effective implementation of the cluster of reform economic policies that became known as the "New Deal" by the Roosevelt administration with some limited success. These policies allowed the U.S. economy to take advantage of the development of the large "war market" in military hardware which had opened up in Europe. 2) The "popular

Front" against Fascism policy of the Soviet government which resulted in the warming of Soviet/American relations and a consequent diminution in the "red terror" scare tactic of the American ruling class.

Although Roosevelt's election in 1932, the same year Herndon was arrested, signaled the end of the Hoover "invisible hand" economic policy which was allowing the emergence and the rapid advancement of fascist forces toward national legitimacy within the country; the new liberal wing of the bourgeoisie which he represented did not fully become entrenched until some half a decade later. The stabilization of the economy and the rise of this new liberal bourgeoisie proved burdensome to a long standing coalition of southern agricultural interests and northern "see no evil, speak no evil" industrial and finance capitalists. This apparent breach which would become wide open by the mid 1950s allowed Herndon's supporters to take advantage of the liberal media, in order to swing popular opinion to his defense.

i. Regional and National Implications of the Case

In the South, the fascists took heart and a counter-liberal barrage of propaganda was issued forth from even the most "liberal" newspapers of the south, and of Georgia in particular. The *Atlanta Constitution* on November 24, 1935, has appearing on its editorial page, after specifically referring to one Angelo Herndon, the following warning:

> Other sections of the country may remain insensitive to activities of the Reds, but Atlanta can be expected to crush this type of over-radicalism whenever it shows its ugly head above the slime in which it breeds.
>
> Those styling themselves the "Young Communist League of Atlanta" should be arrested and punishment given them such as will be a convincing warning that Atlanta will not continue to condone efforts to stir up strife and discontent under the banner of "free speech".[15]

It is interesting to note that the editorial writers of *The Atlanta Constitution* apparently saw Atlanta, Georgia as distinctive from "other sections of the country" when it came to the application of the law

embodied in "the American Constitution". In any event, the struggle within the ruling circles of the American bourgeoisie was joined. The "new national liberals" knew that they had to maintain capitalist class rule and get through this crisis situation by averting as many serious problems as possible. They therefore, opted to increase production by incorporating rural Blacks into the modern labor force within the rapidly developing industrial complexes of the emerging urban areas in both the north and the south. They simply needed the labor power that these workers, trapped within the agricultural sector of the national economy within the south, had the potential of providing. Consequently, democratic rights had to begin to be extended to them, at least to some limited extent.

But part of the new liberal strategy was also not to sacrifice the privileges of white industrial workers. They therefore, had to find some way of maintaining the basic exploitative production relations which manifested themselves in the racism of tradition segregationist policies which were most conspicuous within the Southern region of the country. The basic racism of these policies was to be achieved later in two distinctive ways: 1) By simply transferring these racist relations of production to the industrial units. So Black workers were again separated from white workers inside plants and worked in the most unsafe, less productive, more difficulty areas and were paid less. In short they were assigned "nigger jobs". Also 2) Black workers were consigned jobs in the most backward sector of the new industrial economy. They worked in separated units of production. The exploitation of Black labor in these two distinctive ways were to be successful in allowing American capitalism to extract super surpluses from its heterogeneous and spatially segregated work force.

But it was not to the immediate advantage of the landed property interests of the south to allow this process to take place smoothly. They still required large quantities of Black labor in the agricultural sector of the rural southern economy. That was the basis of the contentious struggle within American capitalist ruling circles during those times. This was both a tactical and a strategic struggle. The Herndon presented local and regional capitalist interests with an immediate tactical constitutional challenge. What was to be done

with this nineteen year old Black Communist organizer who advocated that Black and white workers be treated equally in the south? He was advocating something that the American Constitution explicitly stated. They locked him up.

Within a strategic and broader context, national capitalist interests sought to enforce the Constitution as amended *now* since it required Black labor in its urban area as part of its economic recovery and its industrial expansion. These forces moved very slowly and were very cautious because of the economic uncertainty during the massive economic crisis. But they had to do more in the face of the political instability that was occurring also because of the economic crisis. So they let him go after a long court battle.

ii. International Implications of the Case

Internationally, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International had met July of 1935 and adopted a "Popular Front Policy"[16] which amounted to laying the basis for the alliance that eventually resulted in the formation of a front made up of all "non-fascist" bourgeois governments against the "Fascist Axis" or the "anti-Comintern Axis."[17] What was happening nationally among the new liberal forces was also happening internationally among the "anti-Fascist" forces. By 1937, the year of Herndon's acquittal, Soviet/American diplomatic relations were rapidly warming up.[18] It should, however, be understood that while the international situation is a factor. It is, at best, a secondary one. The primary influences operative in this case were national and local in nature. The local determinant was, in a direct way, the initiator of the repressive response and to a direct extent it involved the validation of the local police as it brought the action in Fulton county Superior Court and upheld in the Georgia Supreme Court. Herndon's conviction was, therefore, sustained at this level in the litigation.

His conviction was also sustained at the national level as well because the Supreme Court in 1935 refused to hear the case. Two years later, in a remarkable reversal, however, it not only heard the case but overturned the Georgia State Supreme Court ruling. It, in effect, set Angelo Herndon free.

The logical outcome of the case finds its basis within two interrelated dynamics: 1) The flexibility of the bourgeois state in periods of economic stability, protecting and taking civil rights and liberties from one sector of the society or another as its interests dictates: and 2) extending the protection of democratic rights to Black people as a matter of historical necessity resulting from their shift from the rural agricultural sector of the economy to the urban industrial sector of the south.

V. Angelo Herndon's Five Years in Court

The southern states had no "Criminal Anarchy" laws on their books as the large and more densely populated northern urban industrial states found it necessary to pass.[19] The southern agricultural states had some more effective legal means. They had a great many "jury discretionary" laws which operated in such a way as to allow free and unimpeded racism to be the subjective yardstick of injustice imitating justice. Blacks were, without exception, excluded from juries. In cases where the established segregationist order was even remotely threatened by even the most meek of Black men, the verdict would be swift and directly a function of the degree to which the white privileged jurors felt personally menaced. The verdict in *Herndon v. Georgia* (179 Ga. 832, 174 S.E. 597) also included a discretionary jury sentence. The Georgia Court held:

> That utterances inciting to the overthrow of organized government by unlawful means present a sufficient danger of substantive evil to bring their punishment within the range of legislative discretion, is clear....They threaten breaches of the peace and ultimate revolution....It cannot be said that the State is acting arbitrarily or unreasonably when in the exercise of its judgment as to the measures necessary to protect the public peace and safety, it seeks to extinguish the spark without waiting until it has enkindled the flame or blaze into the conflagration. It cannot reasonablly be required to defer the adoption of measures for its own peace and safety until the revolutionary utterances lead to actual disturbances of the public peace or imminent and immediate danger of its own destruction: but it may...suppress the threatened danger of its incipiency.[20]

After the Georgia Supreme Court ruled the case was then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1935. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case on the grounds that the federal question was not raised in time. In a badly split decision with Justices Cardozo, Stone, and Brandeis dissenting in favor of hearing the case on its merits a razor thin majority prevailed.[21] This conflict at the level of the High Court could be interpreted to mean that the big monopoly capitalist industrial interests which controlled the basic polity of the county had not yet reached the point where it would become clear to them that they needed large amounts of Black labor in the urban areas. They, as a consequence, were not yet willing to extend democratic rights protections to the Black rural or urban citizens of the south.

It was not until two years later that the case was once again placed before the High Court on a writ of habeas corpus. This time Justices Cardozo, Brandeis, and Stone were joined by Justices Roberts, and Hughes in affirming that the first amendment rights of Herndon were, in fact, violated by his arrest and detention by local authorities.[22] It was the opinion of the Court, following the "clear and present danger" precedent established in *Schench v. U.S, (1919)*[23] and the much broader "dangerous tendency" test in *Gitlow v. New York (1925)*[24], that what Angelo Herndon did, and what he was, in fact, advocating was, in no way, sufficient under federal law to warrant the abridgement of his freedom of speech and assembly. Justice Roberts wrote:

> It is to be borne in mind that the legislature of Georgia has not made membership in the Communist Party unlawful...by reason of the supposed dangerous tendency even in the remote future....In these circumstances, to make membership in the party and soliticitation of members for that party a criminal offense, punishable by death, in the discretion of a jury, is an unwarranted invasion of the right of freedom of speech.[25]

In the opinion of the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia it was plain that Herndon's advocacy was representative of a specific instance of "clear and present danger" and his behavior was indicative of a "dangerous tendency" because his advocacy and behavior was

threating to the old landed financial interests which had no desire to extend democratic rights protections to Black people in the south.

Herndon v. Lowry (1937) then represents the first breach in the high walls of segregation which surrounded the deep south. This first breach would lead to an avalanche of "civil rights" cases all of which directly involved the legal treatment of Blacks in the country as a whole. Most of these cases would have their origin in the south and would involve a fundamental conflict between local laws and practices and the Constitution of the United States.

As a result of the peaceful militant campaign of the Atlanta Unemployed Committee led by Herndon the local government was threatened by, as Justice Roberts wrote:

> The only objectives appellant is proved to have urged are those having to do with unemployment and emergency relief which are void of criminality. His membership in the Communist Party and his solicitation of a few members wholly fails to establish an attempt to incite others to insurrection. [26]

The local southern agriculturalists and their supportive commercial interests were, indeed, on shakey constitutional gounds. The over arching national industrial and financial interests of the nation state, taken as a whole, was now beginning to crack the whip. The bringing of charges in the Herndon case by local authorities can be seen to be a desperate attempt to block the inevitable absorption of the Black proletariat into the urbanized work force of the "new south".

There are two important interrelated considerations in the case that can serve to bring out the "clear and present danger" that Herndon posed to the old regime. The first has to do with the relative vagueness of the Georgia Statute under which the case was brought. The second pertained to the time span within which the "influence" of the defendant could be demonstrated to be operative.

In *Schenk v. U.S.* it was held that "clear and present danger" existed because a specific function of the government was being interfered with in times of war.[27] A standard of guilt had been clearly defined in this case, justly or unjustly.

In *Herndon v. Lowry*, the majority of the court held that:

> The statute, as construed and applied in the appellant's trial does not furnish a sufficiently ascertainable standard of guilt. The Act does not prohibit incitement to violent interference with any given activity or operation of the state. By force of it, as construed, the judge and jury trying an alleged offender cannot appraise the circumstances and character of the defendant's utterances or activities as begetting a clear and present danger of forcible obstruction of a particular state function.[28]

Since there was no clear standard of guilt operative here:

> .....The law, as thus construed, licenses the jury to create its own standard in each case.[29]

With the racist discretionary jury system set in place under these circumstances, it is doubtful that any justice could be given to a Black Communist activist from an all white jury. In this situation Herndon, like many other Blacks who come before the courts all across the south, was quickly victimized.

The State of Georgia first held that the accused was not necessarily guilty if he:

> ....should have intended that an insurrection should follow instantly or at any given time, but it would be sufficient that he intended it to happen at any time, as a result...of the influence...(of his persuasion).[30]

Upon an early challenge by Herndon's lawyers "any time" was defined as:

> ...any time within which he might reasonably expect his influence to continue to be directly operative in causing such action by those whom he sought to induce.[31]

The Georgia Supreme Court was clearly saying that if an all white jury can be convinced that a Black Communist defendant, or any person

deemed by them to be dangerous to their way of privileged life ought to have known that their utterances or their distribution of inflammatory written material can constitute a "dangerous tendency". And if such a "dangerous" person is convicted he or she could be sentenced to death, at the discretion of the all white jury, in accordance with Georgia Law. That is, indeed, a broad interpretation of "clear and present danger" and "bad tendency" which have been, by legal precedent, demonstrated to be restrictive of the right of free speech.
Justice Roberts put it this way:

> ...If, by the exercise of prophecy, he can forecast that, as a result of a chain of causation, following his proposed action a group may arise at some future date which will resort to force, he is bound to make the prophecy and abstain, under pain of punishment, of execution.[32]

The prevailing opinion of the Court continues:

> ...Every person who attacks existing conditions who agitates for a change in the form of government, must take the risk that if a jury should be of the opinion he ought to have foreseen that his utterances might contribute in any measure to some future forcible resistance to the existing government he may be convicted of the offense of inciting insurrection.[33]

This measure without a doubt was aimed at that sector of the population in whose interest agitating "for a change in the form of government" would best serve. This kind of broad interpretation of democratic rights coupled with the discretionary and exclusive jury system operated to rob Blacks of their rights. Angelo Herndon revealed to the world how this process was being used.

Summary

An attempt was made to show by using the case of Angelo Herndon and his personal political struggle in the last days of the "old south" some of the flexibility of the often accommodating bourgeois state.

The emerging conflict within the American state apparatus between the ascendant "new"liberals under the banner of the "new deal" nationally and the crypto-fascist, rightist element of the local southern petit-bourgeoisie under the banner of out and out white racial supremacy was considered. The economic and regional basis of these contending political forces were briefly reviewed and the cases of *Herndon v. Georgia* and *Herndon v. Lowry* were placed with the context of that basic conflict. These cases represented the combined struggle for democratic rights on the part of the urbanized Black workers of the south and the more general struggle of white workers for the necessities of life during the great depression.

A pattern was sought and some conclusions drawn about the nature and the broader implications of this fight for justice within a vacillating bourgeois court system. Some assertions were also make regarding this case and the massive mobilization which would take place two decades later and would finally result in the establishment of democratic rights for all Blacks.

Notes:

1. Herndon, Angelo, *Let Me Live,* Arno Press, New York, 1969, pp. 52-56.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-71.
3. Foster, William, Z., *The Negro People in American History,* International Press, New York, 1954, pp. 355-362.
4. Herndon, *op. cit.,* pp. 75-125.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
9. The conceptualization of the "depression" as the "periodic crisis of over production" has long been a distinction made by Marxist economists. They have insisted that the characterization of the "periodic crisis of over production" as simply a "depression" does not adequately describe its basic nature as a phenomenon that is uniquely capitalist.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-173.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
14. Hays, Arthur G., "Civil Liberties and Angelo Herndon", *Survey Graphic,* Dec., 1935, Vol. 24., no. 12, p. 616.
15. Editorial, "Search Them Out," *The Atlanta Constitution,* November 24, 1935, Atlanta, Georgia.
16. Foster, *op.cit.,* pp. 505-508.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Many scholars are beginning to make valid comparisons between the Herndon case and the case of Angela Davis with regard to Soviet foreign policy.
19. Herndon, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
20. *Herndon v. Georgia*, 179 Ga. 382, 174 S.E. 597 (1934).
21. *Herndon v. Georgia,* 295 U.S. 441 (1935).
22. *Herndon v. Lowry,* 301 U.S. 244-278 (1937).
23. *Schenck v. U.S.,* 245 U.S., 652 (1919).
24. *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S., 652 (1925).
25. *Herndon v. Lowry,* 260.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Schenk, *op. cit.*
28. *Herndon v. Lowry*, 261.
29. *Ibid.*, 263.
30. *Herndon v. Georgia.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Herndon v. Lowry,* 262.
33. *Ibid.*

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Appendix Directory

Appendix A

A-1 To the Nations of the World (1900)
A-2 Memorandum On the Pan-African Congress (1919)
A-3 Resolutions of the Pan-African Congress (1919)
A-4 Report Of the Commission on the National And the Colonial Questions to the Second Congress of the Comintern July 26, (1920)
A-5 The Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World (1920)
A-6 Pan-African Congress Resolution (1945)
A-7 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1946)
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Appendix B

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Appendix A-1

"To the Nations of the World" (1900)

TO THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD

In the metropolis of the modern world, in this the closing year of the nineteenth century, there has been assembled a congress of men and women of African blood, to deliberate solemnly upon the present situation and outlook of the darker races of mankind. The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line, the question as to how far differences of race, which show themselves chiefly in the colour of the skin and the texture of the hair, are going to be made, hereafter, the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilisation.

To be sure, the darker races are today the least advanced in culture according to European standards. This has not, however, always been the case in the past, and certainly the world's history, both ancient and modern, has given many instances of no despicable ability and capacity among the blackest of the races.

In any case, the modern world must need remember that in this age, when the ends of the world are being brought so near together, the millions of black men in Africa, America, and the Islands of the Sea, not to speak of the brown and yellow myriads elsewhere, are bound to have great influence upon the world in the future, by reason of sheer numbers and physical contact. If now the world of culture bends itself towards giving Negroes and other dark men the largest and broadest opportunity for education and self-development, then this contact and influence is bound to have a beneficial effect upon the world and hasten human progress. But if, by reason of carelessness, prejudice, greed and injustice, the black world is to be exploited and ravished and degraded, the results must be deplorable, if not fatal, not simply to them, but to the high ideals of justice, freedom, and

culture which a thousand years of Christian civilisation have held before Europe.

And now, therefore, to these ideals of civilisation, to the broader humanity of the followers of the Prince of Peace, we, the men and women of Africa in the world congress assembled, do now solemnly appeal:

Let the world take no backward step in that slow but sure progress which has successively refused to let the spirit of class, of caste, of privilege, or of birth, debar from like liberty and the pursuit of happiness a striving human soul.

Let not mere colour or race be a feature of distinction drawn between white and black men, regardless of worth or ability.

Let not the natives of Africa be sacrificed to the greed of gold, their liberties taken away, their family life debauched, their just aspirations repressed, and avenues of advancement and culture taken from them.

Let not the cloak of Christian missionary enterprise be allowed in the future, as so often in the past, to hide the ruthless economic exploitation and political downfall of less developed nations, whose chief fault has been reliance on the plighted faith of the Christian church.

Let the British nation, the first modern champion of Negro freedom, hasten to crown the work of Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and Buxton, and Sharpe, Bishop Colenso, and Livingstone, and give as soon as practicable, the rights of responsible government to the black colonies of Africa and the WestIndies.

Let the spirit of Garrison, Phillips, and Douglas wholly die out in America; may the conscience of a great nation rise and rebuke all dishonesty and unrighteous oppression toward the American Negro, and grant to him the right to franchise, security of person and property, and generous recognition of the great work he has accomplished in a generation toward raising nine millions of human beings from slavery to manhood.

Let the German Empire, and the French Republic, true to their great past, remember that the true worth of colonies lies in their prosperity and progress, and that justice, impartial alike to black and white, is the first element of prosperity.

Let the Congo Free State become a great central Negro State of the world, and let its prosperity be counted not simply in cash and commerce, but in the happiness and true advancement of its black people.

Let the nations of the World respect the integrity and independence of the free Negro States of Abyssinia, Liberia, Hayti, etc., and let the inhabitants of these States, the independent tribes of Africa, the Negroes of the West Indies and America, and the black subjects of all nations take courage, strive ceaselessly, and fight bravely, that they may prove to the world their incontestable right to be counted among the great brotherhood of mankind.

Thus we appeal with boldness and confidence to the Great Powers of the civilised world, trusting in the wide spirit of humanity, and the deep sense of justice of our age, for a generous recognition of the righteousness of our cause.

W.E.B. Dubois
1900

Appendix A-2

ON THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS, 1919

Memorandum, dated Paris, January 1, 1919,
Grand Hotel in Paris February 19-21, 1919.

DU BOIS' MEMORANDUM

Gentlemen:[1]

I beg hereby to lay before you certain tentative suggestions as to a Pan-African Congress to be held in Paris in February, 1919.

1. The appointment of a small Committee of arrangements.

2. The sending of personal invitations to representatives of the Negro race who can attend such a Congress and who represent the Governments of Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti; the French, English, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, Dutch and former German colonies; and the descendants of Negroes inhabiting North and South America and the Islands of the Sea.

3. Invitations to all Governments having Negro citizens and subjects to send representatives to address the Congress; and similar invitations to China, Japan, and India.

4. Invitations to join in our open conferences to representatives of organizations devoted to the advancement of the Darker Races.

5. The chief work of the Congress shall be:

(a) The hearing of statements on the condition of Negroes through the world.

(b) The obtaining of authoritative statements of policy toward the Negro race from the Great Powers.

(c) The making of strong representations to the peace conference sitting in Paris in behalf of both voice in and protection for 250,000,000 Negroes and Negroids in the League of Nations.

(d) The laying down of principles upon which the future development of Negro race must take place, including:

Political rights for the civilized.

Modern education for all children.

Native rights to the land and natural resources.

Industrial development primarily for the benefit of the native and his country.

Development of autonomous government of long lines of native customs, with the object of inaugurating gradually in Africa for the Africans.

Full recognition of the independent governments of Abyssinia, Liberia, and Haiti, with their full natural boundaries and the development of the former German colonies under the guarantee and oversite of the League of Nations.

The cordial and sympathetic co-operation of the Black, Yellow and White races on terms of mutual respect and equality of the future development of the world.

6. The program of the Congress might be something as follows: Sunday afternoon: Mass-meeting, addressed by representatives of the Colonial Powers and of the Negro nations.

Night: Reception of delegates

Monday morning: Closed conference of Negro delegates; appointment of Committees; reports of conditions.

Afternoon: Open conference; reports from Governments.

Tuesday morning: Committees and resolutions.

Afternoon: Closed conference.

Night: Mass-meeting and speeches.

7. The Conference should form a permanent Secretariat with Headquarters in Paris, charged with the duty of:

Collating the history of the Negro race.

Studying the present condition of the race.

Publishing articles, pamphlets and a report of this Congress.

Encouraging Negro art and literature.

Arranging for a second Pan-African Congress in 1920.

The Crisis, March, 1919; XVII, 224-25.

[1] Du Bois directed this to "M Diagne and others " To Diagne, a deputy from Senegal to the French Parliament, was commissioner general of colonial affairs in Clemenceau's government.

Appendix A-3

RESOLUTIONS OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

The Negroes of the world in Pan-African Congress assembled at Paris February 19, 20, 21, 1919, in demand, in the interest of justice and humanity and for strengthening the forces of civilisation, that immediate steps be taken to develop the 200,000,000 of Negroes and Negroids; to this end, they propose:

A.-That the allied and associated Powers establish a code of laws for the international protection of the natives of Africa similar to the proposed international code for Labor.

B.-That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of overseeing the application of these laws to the political, social, and economic welfare of the natives.

The Negroes of the world demand the hereafter the native of Africa and the Peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles.

1.-*The land*: The land and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.

2.-*Capital*: The investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for the social and material benefit of the natives.

3.-*Labor*: Slavery and corporal punishment shall abolished and forced labor except in punishment for crime; and the general conditions of labor shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

4.-*Education*: It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and

maintain a corps of native teachers.

5.-*Medicine and Hygiene*: It shall be recognized that human existence in the tropics calls for special safeguards and a scientific system of public hygiene. The State shall be responsible for medical care and sanitary conditions without discouraging collective and individual initiative. A service created by the State shall provide physicians and hospitals, and shall spread the rules of hygiene by written and spoken word. As fast as possible the State will establish a native medical staff.

6.-*The State:* The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the government as fast as their development permits in conformity with the principle that the government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceeds, to the higher offices of State, to the end that, in time, Africa be ruled by consent of the Africans.

7.-*Culture and Religion*: No particular religion shall be imposed and no particular form of human culture. There shall be liberty of conscience. The uplift of the natives shall take into consideration their present condition and shall allow the utmost scope to racial genius, social inheritance and individual bent so long as these are not contrary to the best established principles of civilisation.

8.-*Civilized Negroes*: Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture, they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color a voice in their own government, justice before the courts and economic and social equality according to ability and desert.

9.-*The League of Nations*: Greater security of life and property shall be guaranteed the natives; international labor legislation shall cover the native workers as well as whites; they shall have equitable representation in all the international institutions of the League of Nations, and the participation of the blacks themselves in every domain of endeavour shall be encouraged in accordance with the declared object of article 19 of the League of Nations, to wit: "The well being and the development of these people constitute a sacred mission of

civilisation and it is proper in establishing the League of Nations to incorporate therein pledges for the accomplishments of this mission."

Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any state or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized World.

For the Pan-African Congress, composed of 57 members from 15 countries, inhabited by 85,000,000 Negroes and persons of African descent-to wit:

BEN FLETCHER AND THE I.W.W.

Etas-Unis	16
Portugaises colonies	1
Espagnoles	2
Afrique Francaise	1
Afrique Anglaise	1
Antiles et Guyane Francaises	13
Haiti	7
Ayssie	1
Algerie	1
France	7
Saint-Dominque	1
Egypt	1
Liberia	1
CongoBelge	1
Angleterre	1
Total.....	57

Blaise Diagne,
Depute du Senegal, Commissaire Gerneral charge du Controle Des effectifs coloniaux francais
President du Congres

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois,
Director National,

Appendix A

Association for the Advancement of Colored People, U.S.A., Secretaire

Paris- February 19, 29, 21, 1919

Appendix A-4

Report Of the Commission on the National And the Colonial Questions to the Second Congress of the Comintern
July 26, 1920

Comrades, I shall confine myself to a brief introducing, after which Comrade Maring, who has been secretary to our commission, will give you a detailed account of the changes we have made in the theses. He will be followed by Comrade Roy, who has formulated the supplementary theses. Our commission have unanimously adopted both the preliminary theses, as amended, and the supplementary theses. We have thus reached complete unanimity on all major issues. I shall now make a few brief remarks.

First, what is the cardinal idea underlying our theses? It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. Unlike the Second International and bourgeois democracy, we emphasise this distinction. In this age of imperialism, it is particularly important for the proletariat and the Communist International to establish the concrete realities, not from abstract postulates, in all colonial and national problems.

The characteristic feature of imperialism consists in the whole world, as we now see, being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces. The vast majority of the world's population, over a thousand million, perhaps even 1,250 million people, if we take the total population of the world as 1,750 million, in other words, about 70 percent of the world's population, belong to the oppressed nations, which are either in a state of direct colonial dependence or are semi-colonies, as, for example, Persia, Turkey and China, or else, conquered by some big imperialist power, have become greatly dependent on that power by virtue of peace treaties. This idea of distinction, of dividing the nations into oppressor and oppressed, runs through the theses , not only the first theses published earlier over my signature, but also those submitted by Comrade Roy. The latter were framed chiefly from the standpoint of the situation in India and other big Asian countries oppressed by Britain. Herein lies their great importance to us.

The second basic idea in our theses is that, in the present world situation following the imperialist war, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. The Communist parties, in civilised and backward countries alike, can pose and solve political problems correctly only if they make this postulate their starting-point.

Third, I should like especially to emphasise the question of the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries. This is a question that has given rise to certain differences. We have discussed whether it would be right or wrong, in principle and in theory, to state that the Communist International and the Communist parties must support the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries. As a result of our discussion, we have arrived at the unanimous decision to speak of the national-revolutionary movement rather than of the "bourgeois-democratic" movement. It is beyond doubt that any national movement can only be a bourgeois-capitalist relationship. It would be utopian to believe that proletarian parties in these backward countries, if indeed they can emerge in them, can pursue communist tactics and a communist policy, without establishing definite relations with the peasant movement and without giving it effective support. However, the objections have been raised that, if we speak of the bourgeois-democratic movement, we shall be obliterating all distinctions between the reformist and the revolutionary movements. Yet that distinction has been very clearly revealed of late in the backward and colonial countries, since the imperialist bourgeoisie is doing everything in its power to implant reformist movement among the oppressed nations too. There has been a certain rapprochement between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often-perhaps even in most cases-the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full accord with the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., joins forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes. This was irrefutably proved in the commission, and we decided that the only correct attitude was to take this distinction into account

and, in nearly all cases, substitute the term "national-revolutionary" for the term "bourgeois-democratic". The significance of this change is that we, as Communist, should and will support bourgeois-liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organising in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited. If these conditions do not exist, the Communist in these countries must combat the reformist bourgeoisie, to whom the heroes of the Second International also belong. Reformist parties already exist in the colonial countries, and in some cases their spokesmen call themselves Social-Democrats and socialists. The distinction I have referred to has been made in all the theses with the result, I think that our view is now formulated much more precisely.

Next, I would like to make a remark on the subject of peasants' Soviets. The Russian Communists' practical activities in the former tsarist colonies, in such backward countries as Turkestan, etc., have confronted us with the question of how to apply the communist tactics and policy in pre-capitalist conditions. The preponderance of pre-capitalist relationships is still the main determining feature in these countries, so that there can be no question of a purely proletarian movement in them. There is practically no industrial proletariat in these countries. Nevertheless, we have assumed, we must assume, the role of leader even there. Experience has shown us that tremendous difficulties have to be surmounted in these countries. However, the practical results of our work have also shown that despite these difficulties we are in a position to inspire in the masses an urge for independent political thinking and independent political action, even where a proletariat is practically non-existent. This work has been more difficult for us than it will be for comrades in the West-European countries, because in Russia the proletariat is engrossed in the work of state administration. It will really be understood that peasants living in conditions of semi-feudal dependence can easily assimilate and give effect to the idea of Soviet organisation. It is also clear that the oppressed masses, those who are exploited, not only by merchant capital but also by the feudalist, and by a state based on feudalism, can apply this weapon, this type of organisation, in their conditions too. The idea of Soviet organisation is a simple one, and is applicable,

not only to proletarian, but also to peasant feudal and semi-feudal relations. Our experience in this respect is not as yet very considerable. However, the debate in the commission, in which several representatives from colonial countries participated, demonstrated convincingly that the Communist International's these should point out that peasants' Soviets, Soviets of the exploited, are a weapon which can be employed, not only in capitalist countries but also in countries with pre-capitalist relations, and that it is the absolute duty of Communist parties and of elements prepared to form Communist parties, everywhere to conduct propaganda in favour of peasants' Soviets or of working people's Soviets, this to include backward and colonial countries. Wherever conditions permit, they should at once make attempts to set up Soviets of the working people.

This opens up a very interesting and very important field for our practical work. So far our joint experience in this respect has not been extensive, but more and more data will gradually accumulate. It is unquestionable that the proletariat of the advanced countries can and should give help to the working masses of the backward countries, and that the backward countries can emerge from their present stage of development when the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Republics extends a helping hand to these masses and is in a position to give them support.

There was quite a lively debate on this question in the commission, not only in connection with the theses I signed, but still more in connection with Comrade Roy's theses, which he will defend here, and certain amendments to which were unanimously adopted.The question was posed as follows: are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, and the Soviet government come to their aid with all the means at their disposal-in that event it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development. Not only should we create independent contingents of fighters and party organisations in the colonies and the backward countries, not only at once launch propaganda for the organisations of peasants' Soviets and strive

to adapt them to the pre-capitalist conditions, but the Communist International should advance the proposition, with the appropriate theoretical grounding, that with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries, can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage. The necessary means for this cannot be indicated in advance. These will be prompted by practical experience. It has, however, been definitely established that the idea of the Soviets is understood by the mass of the working people in even the most remote nations, that the Soviets should be adapted to the conditions of a pre-capitalist social system, and that the Communist parties should immediately begin work in this direction in all parts of the world.I would also like to emphasise the importance of revolutionary work by the Communist parties, not only in their own, but also in the colonial countries, and particularly among the troops employed by the exploiting nations to keep the colonial peoples in subjection.

Comrade Quelch of the British Socialist Party spoke of this in our commission. He said that the rank-and-file British worker would consider it treasonable to help the enslaved nations in their uprisings against British rule. True, the Jingoist and chauvinist-labour aristocrats of Britain and America present a very great danger to socialism, and are a bulwark of the Second International. Here we are confronted with the greatest treachery on the part of leaders and workers belonging to this bourgeois International. The colonial question has been discussed in the Second International as well. The Basle Manifesto is quite clear on this point, too. The parties of the Second International have pledged themselves to revolutionary action, but they have given no sign of genuine revolutionary work or of assistance to the exploited and dependent nations in their revolt against the oppressor nations. This, I think, applies also to most of the parties that have withdrawn from the Second International and wish to join the Third International. We must proclaim this publicly for all to hear, and it is irrefutable. We shall see if any attempt is made to deny it.

All these considerations have formed the basis of our resolutions, which undoubtedly are too lengthy but will nevertheless, I am sure, prove of use and will promote the development and

organisation of genuine revolutionary work in connection with the national and the colonial questions.

And that is our principal task.

N. Lenin-July 26, 1920

Appendix A-5

Adopted at the August 13th, 1920
Convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association
Liberty Hall New York City

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

Preamble

"Be it Resolved, That the Negro people of the world, through their chosen representatives in convention assembled in Liberty Hall, in the City of New York and United States of America, from August 1 to August 31, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and twenty, protest against the wrongs and injustices they are suffering at the hands of their white brethren, and state what they deem their fair and just rights, as well as the treatment they propose to demand of all men in the future."

We complain:

I. "That nowhere in the world, with few exceptions, are black men accorded equal treatment with white men, although in the same situation and circumstances, but, on the contrary, are discriminated against and denied the common rights due to human beings for no other reason than their race and color." "We are not willingly accepted as guests in the public hotels and inns of the world for no other reason than our race and color."

II. "In certain parts of the United States of America our race is denied the right of public trial accorded to other races when accused of crime, but are lynched and burned by mobs, and such brutal and inhuman treatment is even practiced upon our women."

III. "That European nations have parceled out among themselves and taken possession of nearly all of the continent of Africa, and the natives are compelled to surrender their lands to aliens and are treated in most instances like slaves."

IV. "In the southern portion of the United States of America, although citizens under the Federal Constitution, and in some states almost equal to whites in population and are qualified land owners and taxpayers, we are, nevertheless, we denied all voice in the making and administration of the laws and are taxed without representation by the state governments, and at the same time compelled to do military service in defense of the country.

V. "On the public conveyances and common carriers in the Southern portion of the United States we are jim-crowed and compelled to accept separate and inferior accommodations and made to pay the same fare charged for first-class accommodations, and our families are often humiliated and insulted by drunken white men who habitually pass through the jim-crow cars going to the smoking car."

VI. "The physicians of our race are denied the right to attend their patients while in the public hospitals of the cities and states where they reside in certain parts of the United States."

VII. "We are discriminated against and denied an equal chance to earn wages for the support of our families, and in many instances are refused admission into labor unions, and nearly everywhere are paid smaller wages than white men."

VIII. "In Civil Service and departmental offices we are everywhere discriminated against and made to feel that to be a black man in Europe, America and the West Indies is equivalent to being an outcast and a leper among the races of men, no matter what the character and attainments of the black man may be."

IX. "In the British and other West Indian Islands and colonies, Negroes are secretly and cunningly discriminated against, and denied those fuller rights in government to which white citizens are appointed, nominated and elected."

X. "That our people in those parts are forced to work for lower wages than the average standard of white men and are kept in conditions repugnant to good civilized tastes and customs."

XI. "That the many acts of injustice against members of our race before the courts of law in the respective islands and colonies are of such nature as to create disgust and disrespect for the white man's sense of justice."

XII. "Against all such inhuman, unchristian and uncivilized treatment we here and now emphatically protest, and invoke the condemnation of all mankind".

In order to encourage our race all over the world and to stimulate it to a higher and grander destiny, we demand and insist on the following Declaration of Rights:

1. "Be it known to all men that whereas, all men are created equal and entitled to the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and because of this we, the duly elected representatives of the Negro peoples of the world, invoking the aid of the just and Almighty God do declare all men, women and children of our blood throughout the world free citizens, and do claim them as free citizens of Africa, the Motherland of all Negroes."
2. "That we believe in the supreme authority of our race in all things racial; that all things are created and given to man as a common possession; that there should be an equitable distribution and apportionment of all such things, and in consideration of the fact that as a race we are now deprived of those things that are morally and legally ours, we believe it right that all such things should be acquired and held by whatsoever means possible."

3. "That we believe the Negro, like any other race, should be governed by the ethics of civilization, and, therefore, should not be deprived of any of those rights or privileges common to other human beings.
4. "We declare that Negroes, wheresoever they form a community among themselves, should be given the right to elect their own representatives to represent them in legislatures, courts of law, or such institutions as may exercise control over that particular community."
5. "We assert that the Negro is entitled to even-handed justice before all courts of law and equity in whatever country he may be found, and when this is denied him on account of his race or color such denial is an insult to the race as a whole and should be resented by the entire body of Negroes."
6. "We declare it unfair and prejudicial to the rights of Negroes in communities where they exist in considerable numbers to be tried by a judge and jury composed entirely of an alien race, but in all such cases members of our race are entitled to representation on the jury."
7. "We believe that any law or practice that tends to deprive any African of his land or the privileges of free citizenship within his country is unjust and immoral, and no native should respect any such law or practice."
8. "We declare taxation without representation unjust and tyrannous, and there should be no obligation on the part of the Negro to obey the levy of a tax by any law-making body from which he is excluded and denied representation on account of his race and color."
9. "We believe that any law especially directed against the Negro to his detriment and singling him out because of his race or color is unfair and immoral, and should not be respected."
10. "We believe all men entitled to common human respect,

and that our race should in no way tolerate any insults that may be interpreted to mean disrespect to our color."

11. "We deprecate the use of the term 'nigger' as applied to Negroes, and demand that the world 'Negro' be written with a capital 'N.'
12. "We believe that the Negro should adopt every means to protect himself against barbarous practices inflicted upon him because of color."
13. "We believe in the freedom of Africa for the Negro people of the world, and by the principle of Europe for the Europeans and Asia for the Asiatics; we also demand Africa for the Africans at home and abroad."
14. "We believe in the inherent right of the Negro to possess himself of Africa, and that his possession of same shall not be regarded as an infringement on any claim or purchase made by any race or nation."
15. "We strongly condemn the cupidity of the nations of the world who, by open aggression or secret schemes, have seized the territories and inexhaustible natural wealth of Africa, and we place on record our most solemn determination to reclaim the treasure and possession of the vast continent of our forefathers."
16. "We believe all men should live in peace one with the other, but when races and nations provoke the ire of other races and nations by attempting to infringe upon their rights, war becomes inevitable, and the attempt in any way to free one's self or protect one's rights or heritage becomes justifiable."
17. "Whereas, the lynching, by burning, hanging or any other means, of human beings is a barbarous practice, and a shame and disgrace to civilization, we therefore declare any country guilty of such atrocities outside the pale of civilization."
18. "We protest against the atrocious of whipping, flogging and overworking the native tribes of Africa and Negroes everywhere. These are methods that should be

abolished, and all means should be taken to prevent a continuance of such brutal practices."

19. "We protest against the atrocious practice of shaving the heads of Africans, especially of African women or individuals of Negro blood, when placed in prison as a punishment for crime by an alien race."
20. "We protest against segregated districts, separate public conveyances, industrial discrimination, lynchings and limitations of political privileges of any Negro citizen in any part of the world on account of race, color or creed, and will exert our full influence and power against all such."
21. "We protest against any punishment inflicted upon a Negro with severity, as against lighter punishment inflicted upon another of an alien race for like offense, as an act of prejudice and injustice, and should be resented by the entire race."
22. "We protest against the system of education in any country where Negroes are denied the same privileges and advantages as other races."
23. "We declare it inhuman and unfair to boycott Negroes from industries and labor in any part of the world."
24. "We believe in the doctrine of the freedom of the press, and we therefore emphatically protest against the suppression of Negro newspapers and periodicals in various parts of the world, and call upon Negroes everywhere to employ all available means to prevent such suppression".
25. "We further demand free speech universally for all men."
26. "We hereby protest against the publication of scandalous and inflammatory articles by an alien press tending to create racial strife and the exhibition of picture films showing the Negro as a cannibal."
27. "We believe in the self-determination of all peoples."
28. "We declare for the freedom of religious worship."

29. "With the help of Almighty God, we declare ourselves the sworn protectors of the honor and virtue of our women and children, and pledge our lives for their protection and defense everywhere, and under all circumstances form wrongs and outrages."
30. "We demand the right of unlimited and unprejudiced education for ourselves and our posterity forever."
31. "We declare that the teaching in any school by alien teachers to our boys and girls, that the alien race is superior to the Negro race, is an insult to the Negro people of the world."
32. "Where Negroes form a part of the citizenry of any country, and pass the civil service examination of such country, we delare them entitled to the same consideration as other citizens as to appointments in such civil service."
33. "We vigorously protest against the increasingly unfair and unjust treatment accorded Negro travelers on land and sea by the agents and employees of railroad and steamship companies and insist that for equal fare we receive equal privileges with travelers of other races."
34. "We declare it unjust for any country, State or nation to enact laws tending to hinder and obstruct the free immigration of Negroes on account of their race and color."
35. "That the right of the Negro to travel unmolested throughout the world be not abridged by any person or persons, and all Negroes are called upon to give aid to a follow Negro when thus molested."
36. "We declare that all Negroes are entitled to the same right to travel over the world as other men."
37. "We hereby demand that the governments of the world recognize our leader and his representatives chosen by the race to look after the welfare of our people under such governments."
38. "We demand complete control of our social institutions

without interference by any alien race or races."

39. "That the colors, Red, Black and Green, be the colors of the Negro race."
40. "Resolved, That the anthem 'Ethiopia, Thou Land of Our Fathers.' Etc., shall be the anthem of the Negro race."
41. "We believe that nay limited liberty which deprives one of the complete rights and prerogatives of full citizenship is but a modified form of slavery."
42. "We declare it an injustice to our people and a serious impediment to the health of the race to deny to competent licensed Negro physicians the right to practice in the public hospitals of the communities in which they reside, for no other reason than their race and color."
43. "We call upon the various governments of the world to accept and acknowledge Negro representatives who shall be sent to the said governments to represent the general welfare of the Negro peoples of the world."
44. "We deplore and protest against the practice of confining juvenile prisoners in prisons with adults, and we recommend that such youthful prisoners be taught gainful trades under humane supervision."
45. "Be it further resolved, that we as a race of people declare the League of Nations null and void as far as the Negro is concerned, in that it seeks to deprive Negroes of their liberty."
46. "We demand of all men to do unto us as we would do unto them, in the name of justice; and we cheerfully accord to all men all the rights we claim herein for ourselves."
47. "We declare that no Negro shall engage himself in battle for an alien race without first obtaining the consent of the leader of the Negro people of the world, except in a mater of national self-defense."
48. "We protest against the practice of drafting Negroes

and sending them to war with alien forces without proper training, and demand in all cases that Negro soldiers be given the same training as the aliens"

49. "We demand that instructions given Negro children in schools include the subject of 'Negro History,' to their benefit."
50. "We demand a free and unfettered commercial intercourse with all the Negro people of the world."
51. "We declare for the absolute freedom of the sears for all peoples."
52. "We demand that our duly accredited representatives be given proper recognition in all leagues, conferences, conventions or courts of international arbitration wherever human rights are discussed."
53. "We proclaim the 31st day of August of each year to be an international holiday to be observed by all Negroes."
54. "We want all men to know we shall maintain and contend for the freedom and equality of every man, woman, and child of our race, with our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

These rights we believe to be justly ours and proper for the protection of the Negro race at large, and because of this belief we, on behalf of the four hundred million Negroes of the world, do pledge herein the sacred blood of the race in defense, and we hereby subscribe our names as a guarantee of the truthfulness and faithfulness hereof in the presence of Almighty God, on the 13th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

Appendix A-6

Pan-African Congress Resolution Manchester, 1945

I.

To secure equal opportunities for all colonial and coloured people in Great Britain,Congress demands that discrimination on account of race, creed or colour be made a criminal offence by law.That all employments and occupations shall be opened to all qualified Africans, and that to bar such applicants because of race, colour or creed shall be deemed an offence against the law.

In connection with the political situation, the Congress observed:

(a) That since the advent of British, French, Belgian and other Europeans in West Africa, there has been regression instead of progress as a result of systematic exploitations by these alien imperialist Powers. The claims of "partnership," "Trusteeship," "guardianship" and the "mandate system," do not serve the political wishes of the people of West Africa.

(b) That the democratic nature of the indigenous institutions of the peoples of West Africa has been crushed by obnoxious and oppressive laws and regulations, and replaced by autocratic systems of government which are inimical to the wishes of the people of West Africa.

(c) That the introduction of pretentious constitutional reforms in West African territories [is] nothing but spurious attempts on the part of alien imperialist Powers to continue the political enslavement of the peoples.

(d) That the introduction of Indirect Rule is not only an instrument of oppression but also an encroachment on the right of the West African natural rulers.

(e) That the artificial divisions and territorial boundaries created by the imperialist Powers are deliberate steps to obstruct the political unity of the West African peoples.

II.

Economic. As regards that West African economic set-up, the Resolution asserted:

(a) That there has been a systematic exploitation of the economic resources of the West African territories by imperialist Powers to the detriment of the inhabitants.

(b) That the industrialisation of West Africa by the indigenes has been discouraged and obstructed by the imperialist rulers, with the result that the standard of living has fallen below subsistence level.

(c) That the land, the rightful property of West Africans, is gradually passing into the hands of foreign Governments and other agencies through various devices and ordinances.

(d) That the workers and farmers of West Africa have not been allowed independent trade unions and co-operative movements without official interference.

(e) That the mining industries are in the hands of foreign monopolies of finance capital, with the result that wherever a mining industry has developed there has been a tendency to deprive the people of their land holdings (e.g., mineral rights in Nigeria and Sierra Leone [are] now the property of the British Government).

(f) That the British Government in West Africa is virtually controlled by a merchants' united front, whose main objective is the exploitation of the people, thus rendering the -indigenous population economically helpless.

(g) That when a country is compelled to rely on one crop (e.g., cocoa) for a single monopolistic market, and is obliged to cultivate only for export while at the same time its farmers and workers find themselves in the grip of finance capital, then it is evident that the Government of that country is incompetent to assume responsibility for it.

Commenting on the social needs of the area, the Resolution said:

(a) That the democratic organisations and institutions of the West African peoples have been interfered with, that alien rule has not improved education, health or the nutrition of the West African peoples, but on the contrary tolerates mass illiteracy, ill-health, malnutrition, prostitution and many other social evils.

(b) That organised Christianity in West Africa is identified with the political and economic exploitations of the West African peoples by alien Powers.

III.

1. The principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter be put into practice once.
2. The abolition of land laws which allow Europeans to take land from the Africans. Immediate cessation of any further settlement by Europeans in Kenya or in any other territory in East Africa. All available land to be distributed to the landless Africans.
3. The right of Africans to develop the economic resources of their country without hindrance.
4. The immediate abolition of all racial and other discriminatory laws at once (the kipande system in particular) and the system of equal citizenship to be introduced forthwith.
5. Freedom of speech, Press, association and assembly.
6. Revision of the system of taxation and of the evil and criminal codes.
7. Compulsory free and uniform education for all children up to the age of sixteen, with free meals, free books and school equipment.
8. Granting of the franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of twenty-one to elect and be elected to the Legislative Council, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
9. A state medical, health and welfare service to be made available to all.
10. Abolition of forced labour, and the introduction of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

IV.

Declaration to the Colonial Powers

The delegates believe in peace. How could it be otherwise, when for centuries the African peoples have been the victims of violence and slavery? Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind

by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people. We continue willingly to sacrifice and strive. But we are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discarded imperialism.

We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy.

Therefore, we shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will make the world listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment.

V.
Declaration to the Colonial Peoples

We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic.

The people of the colonies must have the right to elect their own Governments, without restrictions from foreign Powers. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must fight for these ends by all means at their disposal.

The object of imperialist Powers is to exploit. By granting the right to colonial peoples to govern themselves that object is defeated. Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to complete social, economic and political emancipation. The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the colonies to organise effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front

of the battle against imperialism. Your weapons-the strike and the boycott-are invincible.

We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to waken to their responsibilities. By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the Press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action-the organisation of the masses. And in that organisation the educated colonials must join. Colonial and subject peoples of the world, Unite!

Manchester,England,1945

Appendix A-7

Adopted by the General Assembly
December 10, 1946
Paris, France

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
proclaims

THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

as common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping the Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1
All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2
Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be

presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race,

nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his

country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without and discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family and existence worth of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interest.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Appendix A-8

Programme of Action

Statement of Policy adopted at ANC Annual Conference December 17, 1949

The fundamental principles of the programme of action of the African National Congress are inspired by the desire to achieve national freedom. By national freedom we mean freedom from White domination and the attainment of political independence. This implies the rejection of the conception of segregation, apartheid, trusteeship, or White leadership which are all in one way or another motivated by the idea of White domination or domination of the White over the Blacks. Like all other people the African people claim the right of self-determination.

With this object in view in light of these principles we claim and will continue to fight for the political rights tabulated on page 8 of our Bill of Rights such as:-

(1) the right of direct representation in all the governing bodies of the country –national, provincial and local – and we resolve to work for the abolition of all differential institutions or bodies specially created for African, viz. representation councils, present form of parliamentary representation.

(2) to achieve these objectives the following programme of action is suggested:

(a) the creation of a national fund to finance the struggle for national liberation;
(b) the appointment of a committee to organize an appeal for funds and to devise ways and means

there for;

(c) the regular issue of propaganda material through:-

(i) the usual press, newsletter or other means of disseminating our ideas in order to raise the standard of political and national consciousness;

(ii) establishment of a national press.

(3) appointment of a council of action whose function should be to carry into effect, vigorously and with the utmost determination, the programme of action. It should be competent for the council of action to implement our resolve to work for:

(a) the abolition of all differential political institutions, the boycotting of which we accept, and to undertake a campaign to educate our people on this issue and, in addition, to employ the following weapons: immediate and active boycott, strike, civil disobedience, non-co-operation and such other means as may bring about the accomplishment and realization o our aspirations.

(b) Preparations and making of plans for a national stoppage of work for one day as a mark of protest against the reactionary policy of the Government.

(4) Economic

(a) The establishment of commercial, industrial, transport and other enterprises in both urban and rural areas;

(b) Consolidation of the industrial organization of the workers for the improvement of their standard of living.

(c) Pursuant to paragraph (a) herein instructions be issued to Provincial Congresses to study the economic and social conditions in the reserves and other African settlements and to devise ways and means for their development, establishment of industries and such other

enterprises as may give employment to a number of people.

(5) Education

To be an instruction to the African National Congress to devise ways and means for:

(a) Raising the standard of Africans in the commercial, industrial and other enterprises and workers in the workers' organizations by means of providing a common educational forum wherein intellectuals, peasants and workers participate for the common good.

(b) Establishment of national centers of education for the purpose of training and educating African youth and provision of large scale scholarships tenable in various overseas countries.

(6) Cultural

(a) To unite the cultural with the educational and national struggle.

(b) The establishment of a national academy of

Appendix A-9

DECISIONS OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE 1955

The Asian-African conference, convened by the Governments of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, met in Bandung from the 18th to 24th of April 1955.

In addition to the sponsoring countries, the following twenty-four countries participated in the conference:

Afghanistan, Cambodia, People's Republic of China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Democratic Republic of [North] Vietnam, State of Viet-nam and Yemen.

The Asian-African conference considered the position of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their peoples could achieve the fullest economic cultural and political co-operation.

A. ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

1. The Asian-African conference recognized the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region. There was general desire for economic co-operation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty.

The proposals with regard to economic co-operation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for cooperation with countries outside the region, including the investment of foreign capital. It was further recognized that assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region through international or under bilateral arrangements that made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development participating countries from outside the region through international or under bilateral arrangements that made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development programs.

2. The participating countries agree to provide technical assistance to one another, to the maximum extent practicable, in the form of: Experts, trainees, pilot projects, and equipment for demonstration purposes; Exchange of know-how, and establishment of national and where possible-regional training and research institutes for imparting technical knowledge and skills in co-operation with the existing international agencies.

3. The Asian-African conference recommended:

The early establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development; The allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development of a greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries; The early establishment of an international finance corporation, which should include in its activities the undertaking of equity investment; and Encouragement of the promotion of joint ventures among Asian-African countries in so far as this will promote their common interest.

4. The Asian-African conference recognized the vital need for stabilizing commodity trade in the region. The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted. However, it was recognized that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade arrangements in view of their prevailing economic conditions.

5. The Asian-African conference recommended that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilizing international prices of anddemand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateralarrangements, and that as far as practicable and desirable they should adopt a unified approach on the subject in the United Nations PermanentAdvisory Commission on International Commodity Trade and other international forums.

6. The Asian-African conference further recommended:

Asian-African countries should diversify their export trade by processing their raw materials whenever economically feasible before export; intra-regional trade fairs should be promoted and encouragement be given to the exchange of trade delegations and groups of business men; exchange of information and of samples should be encouraged with a view to promoting intra-regional trade; and normal facilities should be provided for the transit trade of landlocked countries.

7. The Asian-African conference attached considerable importance to shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines reviewed from time to time their freight rates often to the detriment of participating countries.

It recommended a study of this problem and collective action thereafter to put pressure on the shipping lines to adopt a more reasonable attitude.

8. The Asian-African conference agreed that encouragement should be given to the establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies.

9. The Asian-African conference felt that exchange of information on matters relating to oil, such as remittance of profits and taxation, might finally lead to the formation of a common policy.

10. The Asian-African conference emphasized the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for Asian-African countries.

The conference welcomed the initiative of the powers principally concerned in offering to make available information regarding the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes;

Urged the speedy establishment of an international atomic energy agency which should provide for adequate representation of the Asian-African countries on the executive authority of the agency; and

Recommended that Asian and African governments take full advantage of the training and other facilities in the peaceful uses of atomic energy offered by the countries sponsoring such programmes.

11. The Asian-African conference agreed to the appointment of liaison officers in participating countries, to be nominated by their respective national governments, for the exchange of information and matters of mutual interest.

It recommended that fuller use should be made of the existing international organizations, and participating countries who were not members of such international organizations but were eligible should secure membership.

12. The Asian-African conference recommended that there should be prior consultation of participating countries in international forums with a view, as far as possible, to furthering their mutual economic interest. It is, however, not intended to form a regional bloc.

B. CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

1. The Asian-African conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural co-operation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilizations which have enriched other cultures and civilizations while themselves being enriched in the process.

Thus the cultures of Asia and Africa are based on spiritual and universal foundations. Unfortunately, cultural contacts among Asian and African countries were interrupted during the past centuries.

The people of Asia and Africa are now animated by a keen and sincere desire to renew their old cultural contacts and develop new ones in the context of the modern world. All participating governments at the conference reiterated their declaration to work for closer cultural co-operation.

2. The Asian-African conference took note of the fact that the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa, in whatever form it may be, not only prevents cultural co-operation but also suppresses the national cultures of the peoples.

Some colonial powers have denied their dependent peoples basic rights in the sphere of education and culture, which hampers the development of their personality and also prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples.

This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed.

Similar discrimination has been practised against African and Coloured people in some parts of the Continent of Africa.

The conference felt that these policies amount to a denial of the fundamental rights of man, impede cultural advancement in this region and also hamper cultural co-operation on the wide international plain.

The conference condemned such a denial of fundamental rights in the sphere of education and culture in some parts of Asia and Africa by this and other forms of cultural suppression.

In particular, the conference condemned racialism as a means

of cultural suppression.

3. It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilizations and culture that the conference viewed the development of cultural co-operation among Asian and African countries.

True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality, the conference believed that Asian and African cultural co-operation should be developed in the larger context of world co-operation.

Side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural cooperation the countries of Asia and Africa desire to develop cultural contacts with others. This would enrich their own culture and would also help in the promotion of world peace and understanding.

4. There are many countries in Asia and Africa which have not yet been able to develop their educational, scientific and technical institutions.

The conference recommended that countries in Asia and Africa which are more fortunately placed in this respect should give facilities for the admission of students and trainees from such countries to their institutions.

Such facilities should also be made available to the Asian and African people in Africa, to whom opportunities for acquiring higher education are at present denied.

5. The Asian-African conference felt that the promotion of cultural co-operation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards:

(a) The acquisition of knowledge of each other's country,
(b) Mutual cultural exchange and,
(c) Exchange of information.

6. The Asian-African conference was of the opinion that at this stage the best results in cultural co-operation would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements to implement its recommendations and by each country taking action on its own wherever possible and feasible.

C. HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION

1. The Asian-African conference declared its full support of the

fundamental principles of human rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.

The conference declared its full support of the principle of self determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the United Nations Solutions on the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a prerequisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights.

2. The Asian-African conference deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which form the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world.

Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilization and dignity of man.

The conference extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by the victims of racial discrimination, especially by the peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa; applauded all those who sustained their cause; reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims of the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it.

3. In view of the existing tension in the Middle East caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.

D. PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENT PEOPLE

1. The Asian-African conference, in the context of its expressed attitude on the abolition of colonialism, supported the position of

Indonesia in the case of West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) on the relevant agreements between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

The Asian-African conference urged the Netherlands Government to re-open negotiations as soon as possible to implement their obligations under the above-mentioned agreements and expressed the earnest hope that the United Nations could assist the parties concerned in finding a peaceful solution to the dispute.

2. In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay.

E. PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND CO-OPERATION

1. The Asian-African conference, taking note of the fact that several states have still not been admitted to the United Nations, considered that for effective co-operation for world peace membership in the United Nations should be universal, called on the Security Council to support the admission of all those states which are qualified for membership in terms of the Charter.

In the opinion of the Asian-African conference the following countries which were represented in it-Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, and unified Vietnam-were so qualified.

The conference considered that the representation of the countries of the Asian-African region on the Security Council in relation to the principle of equitable geographical distribution was inadequate.

It expressed the view that as regards the distribution of the non-permanent seats, the Asian-African countries which, under the arrangement arrived at in London in 1946, are precluded from being elected, should be enabled to serve on the Security Council so that they might make a more effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. The Asian-African conference, having considered the dangerous situation of international tension existing and the risks

confronting the whole human race from the outbreak of global war in which the destructive power of all types of armaments including nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would be employed, invited the attention of all nations to the terrible consequences that would follow if such a war were to break out.

The conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilization from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction.

It considered that the nations of Asia and Africa assembled here have a duty towards humanity and civilization to proclaim their support for the prohibition of these weapons and to appeal to nations principally concerned and to world opinion to bring about such disarmament and prohibition.

The conference considered that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such prohibition and that speedy and determined efforts should be made to this end. Pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, this conference appealed to all the powers concerned to reach agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons.

The conference declared that universal disarmament is an absolute necessity for the preservation of peace and requested the United Nations to continue its efforts and appealed to all concerned speedily to bring about the regulation, limitation, control and reduction of all armed forces and armaments including the prohibition of the production, perimentation and use of all weapons of mass destruction and to establish effective international control to this end.

3. The Asian-African conference supported the position of the Yemen in the case of Aden and the southern parts of Yemen known as the protectorates and urged the parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

F. DECLARATION OF PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENT PEOPLES

Appendix A

The Asian-African conference discussed the problems of dependent peoples and colonialism and the evils arising from the subject. To what is stated in the following paragraph, the conference is agreed:

1. In declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;
2. In affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitute a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation;
3. In declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples; and
4. In calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

G. DECLARATION OF PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND CO-OPERATION

The Asian-African conference gave anxious thought to the question of world peace and co-operation. It viewed with deep concern the present state of international tension with its danger of an atomic world war.

The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connection all states should co-operate especially through the United Nations in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control.

In this way international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy may be used exclusively for peaceful purpose. This would help answer the needs, particularly of Asia and Africa, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Freedom and peace are interdependent. The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by all peoples and freedom and independence must be granted with the least possible delay to those who are still dependent peoples.

Indeed all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Free from distrust and fear and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly co-operation on the basis of the following principles:

1. Respect for the fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

6a. Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

6b. Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interest and co-operation.
10. Respect of Justice and international obligations.

The Asian-African conference declares its conviction that friendly co-operation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security while co-operation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all.

The Asian-African conference recommended that the full

sponsoring countries should consider the next meeting of the conference in consultation with other countries concerned.

Bandung
April 18-24, 1955

Appendix A-10

The Freedom Charter

Adopted at the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955.

Preamble:

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore we, the people of South Africa, black and white, together equals, countrymen and brothers, adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes set out here have been won.

The People shall govern!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws.

All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country.

The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex.

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and

authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All national groups shall have equal rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride.

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own culture and customs.

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime.

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The people shall share in the country's wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people.

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry, shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.

All other industries and trades shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people.

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The land shall be shared among those who work it!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided among those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger.

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seeds, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers.

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land.

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose.

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All shall be equal before the law!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial.

No-one shall be condemned by order of any government official.

The courts shall be representative of all the people.

Imprisonment shall only be for serious crimes against the people and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance.

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people.

All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be replaced.

All shall enjoy human rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to preach, to worship and to educated their children.

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law.

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There shall be work and security!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers.

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits.

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work.

There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers.

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage

national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life.

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be opened to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contacts with other lands.

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace.

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan.

Teachers shall have the rights of all other citizens.

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There shall be houses, education and comfort!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security.

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people.

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food shall be plentiful and no one shall go hungry.

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state.

Free medical care and housing treatment shall be provided for all, with special care and hospital treatment shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children.

Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, churches and social centres.

The aged, orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state.

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all.

Fenced locations and ghettoes shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be replaced.

There shall be peace and friendship!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations.

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation, not war.

Peace and friendship among our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all.

The people of Basotholand, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future.

The rights of all the people of Africa to independence and self government shall be recognised, and shall be on the basis of close cooperation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty."

Appendix A-11

Resolution on Neo-Colonialism All-African Peoples' Conference

Cairo, March 23-31, 1961

The third All-African Peoples' Conference meeting in Cairo from the 25th to the 31st of March, 1961, having carefully reviewed the current situation in Africa: Considers that Neo-Colonialism, which is the survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries which become the victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical, is the greatest threat to African Countries that have newly won their independence or those approaching this status. Emphasises the examples of the Congo, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which indicate that the colonial system and international imperialism, realising their failure in facing the development of revolutionary movements in Africa, make use of many means to safeguard the essential of their economic and military power. When the recognition of national independence becomes inevitable, they try to deprive these countries of their essence of real independence. This is done by imposing unequal economic, military and technical conventions; by creating puppet governments following false elections, or by inventing some so-called constitutional formulas of multi-national co-existence intended only to hide the racial discrimination favouring settlers. Whenever such machinations appear insufficient to hamper the combativity and determination of popular liberation movements, dying colonialism tries, under the cover of the Neo-Colonialism or through the guided intervention of the United Nations, the balkanisation of newly independent States or the systematic division of the political or syndical vivid forces, and in desperate cases, like in the Congo, colonialism goes as far as plots, repressive measures by army and police, and murder in cold-blood. Conscious that Neo-Colonialism manifest itself through economic and political intervention, intimidation and blackmail in order to prevent African States from

directing their political, social and economic policies towards the exploitation of their natural wealth for the benefit of their peoples. Considers that such countries as the United States, Federal Germany, Israel, Britain, Holland, South Africa and France are the main perpetrators of Neo-Colonialism

MANIFESTATION OF NEOCOLONIALISM

This Conference denounces the following manifestation of Neo-Colonialism in Africa:

(a) Puppet governments represented by stooges and even fabricated elections, based on some chiefs, reactionary elements, anti-popular politicians, big bourgeois compradores or corrupted civil or military functionaries.

(b) Regrouping of States, before or after independence by an imperial nations.

(c) Balkanisaton as a deliberate political fragmentation of States by creation of artificial entities, such as, for example, the case of Katanga, Mauritania, Buganda.

(d) The economic entrenchment of the colonial power before independence and the continuity of economic dependence after formal recognition of National sovereignty.

(e) Integration into colonial economic blocks which maintain the undeveloped character of African economy.

(f)Economic infiltration by a foreign power after independence, through capital investments, loans and monetary aids or technical experts of unequal concessions, particularly those extending for long periods.

(g)Direct monetary dependence, as in those emergent independent States whose finances remain in the hands of and directly controlled by colonial powers.

(h)Military bases sometimes introduced as scientific research stations or training schools, introduced either before independence or as a condition for independence.

Appendix A

Agents of Neo-Colonialism

The Third All-African Peoples' Conference exposes the following active agents of Neo-Colonialism:

(a) Colonial embassies and missions serving as nerve centres of espionage and pressure points on the local African governments directly or through their civil or military technicians.

(b) So-called foreign and United Nations technical assistants who ill-advise and sabotage national political, economical, educational and social development.

(c) Military personnel in armed forces and police, as officers or advisers who serve above all, the colonial interest directly, or through local officers who remain loyal to their former masters.

(d) The representatives from imperialist and colonial countries under the cover of religion. Moral Re-armament, cultural, Trade Union and Youth or Philanthropic Organisations.

(e) The malicious propaganda by radio, press, literature controlled by imperial and colonial countries, as well as in some independent African Countries where press and radio are still owned by imperialist powers.

(f) Puppet Governments in Africa being used by imperialist in the furtherance of Neo-Colonialism, such as the use of their good offices by the neo-colonial powers to undermine the sovereignty and aspirations of other African States.

Means of Fighting Neo-Colonialism

The Third All-African Peoples' Conference, whose very reason of existence is the mobilisation of African masses for the liberation of Africa, is firmly convinced that it is by intensifying the mobilisation that Africa will find the most efficient way to fight Neo-Colonialism and to extract the last roots of imperialism.

It is the duty of popular, political, social, youth and women's organisations, not only to inspire and to wage the struggle against Neo-Colonialism, but also, and above all to be vigilant, to control the correct application of the general outline and to denounce all those who attempt to deviate it from its real objectives.

The conference realises that the struggle against Neo-Colonialism must be associated with the struggle against all forms of opportunism which is the mask of the accomplices of imperialism.

It is therefore by awakening of the conscience of the masses by the establishment of landmarks of real liberation, that the masses will be freed from the power of certain slogans and formulas that only serve as a camouflage for colonialism.

That is why, the Conference:

(a) Condemns the balkanisation of emerging States, whether dependent or independent, as a way to perpetuate Neo-Colonialism in Africa (Congo, Mauritania, Northern Rhodesia, Buganda, etc.)

(b) Condemns the federations and communities created before independence under the patronage of colonial States.

(c) Invites all independent African States to give aid and assistance to liberate the African countries still under foreign domination.

(d) Urges all independent African States which still retain foreign military and para-military bases, to liquidate these bases as soon as possible.

(e) This Conference re-affirms its determination to continue to mobilise popular mass opinion to denounce enemies of true independence and agents of Neo-Colonialism, camouflaged in all possible forms.

(f) This Conference denounces aid with expressed or unexpressed strings attached.

(g) This Conference urges the Independent African States to intensify their efforts for the creation of an effective form of co-operation

among the African States in the Economic, Social and Cultural domains, in order to frustrate Neo-Colonialism.

(h) This Conference deplores the attitude of some independent African States who, under the guise of neutrality, are passive even on vital matters affecting the whole of Africa, and who, by their passive activities in fact promote the cause of Neo-Colonialism.

(i) This Conference calls for the immediate launching of the All-African Trade Union Federation as an effective means of counter-acting Neo-Colonialism.

Appendix A-12

Umkhonto we Sezwe Manifesto

Leaflet issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation)
In South African Townships
December 16, 1961

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe today carried planned attacks against Government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto we Size is a new, independent body, formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. It is not connected in any way with a so-called "Committee for National Liberation" whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organization. Umkhonto we Sizwe fully supports the national liberation movement, and our members jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organizations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government-inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain

only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have not choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

The Government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for Government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the Government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkonto we Sizwe mark a break with that past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist Government which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people of rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces- enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing the white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs- for full-scale military actions against the people. The Nationalist Government has chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did at Sharpeville.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the Government and its policies of race oppression.
It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and

for their final liberation! Let the Government, its supporters who put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist Government is leading the country!

We of Umkonto we Sizwe have always sought- as the liberation movement has sought- to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope- even at this late hour- that our first actions will awaken every one to a realization of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interest of all the people of this country- black, brown and white- whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people of this country.

Afrika Mayibuye!*

Issued by command of Umkhonto we Sizwe

*Africa Return!

Appendix A-13

Du Bois' Application for Membership in the Communist Party USA (CPUSA)-November 26, 1961

On the first day of October, 1961, I am applying for admission to membership in the Communist Party of the United States. I have been long and slow in coming to this conclusion, but at last my mind is settled. In college I heard the name Karl Marx, but read none of his works, nor heard them explained. At the University of Berlin, I heard much of those thinkers who had definitively answered the theories of Marx, but again, we did not study what Marx himself had said. Nevertheless, I attended the meetings of the Socialist Party and considered myself a Socialist. On my return to America, I taught and studied for sixteen years. I explored the theory of Socialism and studied the organized social life of American Negroes; but still I neither read or heard much of Marxism. Then I came to New York as a official of the new NAACP and editor of the *Crisis* Magazine. The NAACP was capitalist oriented and expected support from rich philanthropists. But it had strong Socialist elements in its leadership in persons like Mary Ovington, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell. Following their advice, I joined the Socialist Party in 1911. I knew then nothing of practicing socialist politics and in the campaign of 1912, I found myself unwilling to vote the Socialist ticket, but advised Negroes to vote for Wilson. This was contrary to Socialist rules and consequently I resigned from the Socialist Party. For the next twenty years I tried to develop a political way of life for myself and my people. I attacked the Democrats and Republicans for monopoly and disenfranchisement of Negroes; I attacked the Socialist for trying to segregate Southern Negro members; I praised the racial attitudes of the Communist, but opposed their tactics in the case of the Scottsboro boys and their advocacy of a Negro state. At the same time I began to study Karl Marx and the Communists; I read *Das Kapital* and other Communist literature; I hailed the Russian Revolution of 1917, but

was puzzled at the contradictory news from Russia. Finally in 1926, I began a new effort; I visited Communist lands. I went to the Soviet Union in 1926,1936,1949, and 1959; I saw the nation develop. I visited East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. I spent ten weeks in China, traveling all over the land. Then this summer, I rested a month in Romania. I was early convinced that Socialism was an excellent way of life, but I thought it might be reached by various methods. For Russia, I was convinced she had chosen the only path open to her at the time. I saw Scandinavia choosing a different method, half-way between Socialism and Capitalism. In the United States I saw Consumers Cooperation as a path from Capitalism to Socialism, while England, France, and Germany develop in the same direction in their own way. After the depression and the Second World War, I was disillusioned. The Progressive movement in the United States failed. The Cold War started. Capitalism called Communism a crime. Today I have reached a firm conclusion: Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self-destruction. No universal selfishness can bring social good to all. Communism—the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute—it has and will make mistakes, but today it marches triumphantly on in education and science, in home and food, with increased freedom of thought and deliverance from dogma. In the end Communism will triumph. I want to help bring that day.

The path of the American Communist Party is clear: It will provide the United States with a real Third Party and thus restore democracy to this land call for :

1. Public ownership of natural resources and all capital.
2. Public control of transportation and communications.
3. Abolition of poverty and limitation of personal income.
4. No exploitation of labor.
5. Social medicine, with hospitalization and care of the old.
6. Free education for all.
7. Training for jobs and jobs for all.
8. Discipline for growth and reform.
9. Freedom under law.
10. No dogmatic religion.

These aims are not crimes. They are practiced increasingly over the world.
No nation can call itself free which does not allow its citizens to work for these ends.
W.E.B. Dubois -October 1, 1961

Appendix A-14

Charter of the Organization of African Unity
Addis Ababa, May 25, 1963

We, the Heads of the African and Malagasy States and Governments assembled in the city of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia;

Convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their conscience of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples; own destiny;

Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in spheres of human endeavour;

Inspired by a common determination to promote understanding and collaboration among our States in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences;

Convinced that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained;

Determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our States, and to resist neo-colonialism in all its forms;

Dedicated to the general progress of Africa;

Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive cooperation among States;

Desirous that all African and Malagasy States should henceforth unify so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured;

Resolved to reinforce the links between our States by establishing and strengthening common institutions; Have agreed to the present Charter.

Appendix A

ESTABLISHMENT

Article I

The High Contracting Parties do by the present Charter establish an Organization to be known as the "Organization of African and Malagasy States."

PURPOSES

Article II

1. The Organization shall have the following purposes:
   a.To promote the unity and solidarity of the African and Malagasy States.
   b. To co-ordinate and intensify their collaboration and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa.
   c. To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence.
   d. To eradicate all forms of colonialism from the continent of Africa; and
   e. To promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
2. To these ends, the Member States shall co-ordinate and harmonise their general policies, especially in the following fields:
   a. Political and diplomatic co-operation.
   b. Economic co-operation, including transport and communications.
   c. Educational and cultural co-operation.
   d. Health, sanitation and nutritional co-operation.
   e. Scientific and technical co-operation.
   f. Co-operation for defense and security.

PRINCIPLES

Article III

The Member States, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article 11, solemnly affirm, and declare their adherence to the following principles:

1. The sovereign equality of all African and Malagasy States.
2. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States.
3. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence.
4. Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiations, mediation, conciliation or arbitration.
5. Unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as subversive activities on the part of neighboring States or any other States.
6. Absolute dedication to the whole emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent.
7. Affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

MEMBERSHIP

Article IV

Each independent sovereign African and Malagasy State shall be entitled to become a Member of the Organization.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBER STATES

Article V

All Member States shall enjoy equal rights and have equal duties.

Article VI

The Member States pledge themselves to observe scrupulously the principles enumerated in Article III of the present Charter.

INSTITUTIONS

Article VII

The Organization shall accomplish its purposes through the following principal institutions:

1. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government.
2. The Council of Ministers.
3. The General Secretariat.
4. The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.

THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

Article VIII

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall be the supreme organ of the Organization. It shall, subject to the provisions of this Charter, discuss matters of common concern to all Member States with a view to co-ordinating and harmonising the general policy of the Organization. It may in addition review the structure, functions and acts of all the organs and any specialized agencies which may be created in accordance with the present Charter.

Article IX

The Assembly shall be composed of the Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives and it shall meet at least once a year (every other year). At the request of any Member State, and with the approval by the majority of the Member States, the Assembly shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article X

1. Each Member State shall have one vote
2. All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thirds majority of thosepresent and voting.

3. Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether ornot a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all Member States present and voting.

4. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Organization shall form aquorum at any meeting of the Assembly.

Article XI

The Assembly shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Article XII

The Council of Ministers shall consist of Foreign Ministers or such other Ministers as are designated by the Governments of Member States.The Council of Ministers shall meet at least twice a year. When requested by any Member State and approved by two-thirds of all Member States, it shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article XIII

The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall be entrusted with the responsibility of preparing conferences of the Assembly. It shall take cognisance of any matter referred to it by the Assembly. It shall be entrusted with the implementation of the decisions of the Assembly of Heads of State. It shall co-ordinate inter-African co-operation in accordance with the instructions of the Assembly and in conformity with Article II (2) of the present Charter.

Article XIV

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.

2. All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thirds majority of those members present and voting.

3. Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether or not a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all Member States present and voting.

4. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Council shall form a quorum for any meeting of the Council.

Article XV

The Council shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

GENERAL SECRETARIAT

Article XVI

There shall be an Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Administrative Secretary-General shall direct the affairs of the Secretariat.

Article XVII

There shall be one or more Assistant Secretaries-General of the Organization, who shall be appointed by the Council of Ministers.

Article XVIII

The functions and conditions of services of the Secretary-General, of the Assistant Secretaries-General and other employees of the Secretariat shall be governed by the provisions of this Charter and the regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

1. In the performance of their duties the Administrative

Secretary-General and his staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each member of the Organization undertakes to respect the exclusive character of the responsibilities of the Administrative Secretary-General and the Staff and not seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

Article XIX

Member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means and, to this end, agree to conclude a separate treaty establishing a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. Said treaty shall be regarded as forming an integral part of the present Charter [done July 21, 1964, in Cairo].

SPECIALIZED COMMISSIONS

Article XX

The Assembly shall establish such Specialized Commissions as it maydeem necessary, including the following:

1. Economic and Social Commission.
2. Educational and Cultural Commission.
3. Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission.
4. Defense Commission.
5. Scientific, Technical and Research Commission.

Article XXI

Appendix A

Each Specialized Commission referred to in Article XX shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or Plenipotentiaries designated by the Governments of the Member States.

Article XXII

The functions of the Specialized Commissions shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the present Charter and of the regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

THE BUDGET

Article XXIII

The budget of the Organization prepared by the Administrative Secretary-General shall be approved by the Council of Ministers. The budget shall be provided by contributions from Member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the United Nations; provided, however, that no Member State shall be assessed an amount exceeding twenty per cent of the yearly regular budget of the Organization. The Member States agree to pay their respective contributions regularly.

SIGNATURE AND RATIFICATION OF CHARTER

Article XXIV

This Charter shall be open for signature to all independent sovereign African and Malagasy States and shall be ratified by the signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The original instrument, done in English and French, both texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent sovereign African and Malagasy States. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia, which shall notify all signatories of each such deposit.

Article XXV

The Charter shall enter into force immediately upon receipt by the Government of Ethiopia of the instruments of ratification from two-thirds of the signatory States.

REGISTRATION OF THE CHARTER

Article XXVI

This Charter shall, after due ratification, be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the Government of Ethiopia in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CHARTER

Article XXVII

Any question which may arise concerning the interpretation of this Charter shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, present and voting.

ADHESION AND ACCESSION

Article XXVIII

1. Any independent sovereign African State may at any time notify the Administrative Secretary-General of its intention to adhere or accede to this Charter.

2. The Administrative Secretary-General shall, on receipt of such notification, communicate a copy of it to all the Member States. Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of the Member States. The decision of each Member State shall be

transmitted to the Administrative Secretary-General, who shall, upon receipt of the required number of votes, communicate the decision to the State concerned.

MISCELLANEOUS

Article XXIX

The working languages of the Organization and all its institutions shall be English and French.

Article XX

The Administrative Secretary-General may accept on behalf of the Organization gifts, bequests and other donations made to the Organization, provided that this is approved by the Council of Ministers.

Article XXXI

The Council of Ministers shall decide on the privileges and immunities to be accorded to the personnel of the Secretariat in the respective territories of the Member States.

CESSATION OF MEMBERSHIP

Article XXXII

Any State which desires to renounce its membership shall forward a written notification to the Administrative Secretary-General. At the end of one year from the date of such notification, the Charter shall cease to apply with respect to the renouncing State, which shall thereby cease to belong to the Organization.

AMENDMENT TO THE CHARTER

Article XXIII

This Charter may be amended or revised if any Member State makes a written request to the Administrative Secretary-General to that effect; provided, however, that the proposed amendment is not submitted to the Assembly for consideration until all the Member States have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has elapsed. Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two-thirds of all the Member States.

In faith whereof, We, the Heads of African and Malagasy States and Governments, have signed this Charter.

May 25, 1963

Appendix A-15

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
2721 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20028

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION
and
TANU'S POLICY ON SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE

Adopted by TANU February 1967

PART ONE
The TANU "Creed"

THE POLICY OF TANU IS TO BUILD A SOCIALIST STATE. THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM ARE LAID DOWN IN THE TANU CONSTITUTION, AND THEY BELIEVE AS FOLLOWS:

Whereas TANU believes:

(a) That all human beings are equal;
(b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;
(c) That every citizen is an integral part of the Nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level;
(d) That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law;
(e) That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life and of property held according to law;
(f) That every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour;
(g) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants;
(h) That in order to ensure economic justice the State must have

effective control over the principal means of production; and

(I) That it is the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the Nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

Now, THEREFORE, the principal aims and objects of TANU shall be as follows:

(a) To consolidated and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people;

(b) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

(c) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people;

(d) To co-operate with all political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of all Africa.

(e) To see that the Government mobilizes all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease;

(f) To see that the Government actively assists in the formation and maintenance of co-operative organizations;

(g) To see that wherever possible the Government itself directly participates in the economic development of this country;

(h) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status;

(I) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption;

(j) To see that the Government exercises effective control over the principal means of production and pursues policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country;

(k) To see that the Government co-operates with other states in Africa in bringing about African unity;

(l) To see that the Government works tirelessly towards world peace and security through the United Nations Organization.

PART TWO

THE POLICY OF SOCIALISM

(a) Absence of Exploitation:

A true Socialist State is one in which all people are workers and in which neither Capitalism nor Feudalism exist. It does not have two classes of people; a lower class consisting of people who work for their living, and a upper class consisting of those who live on other people's labour. In a true Socialist State no person exploits another, but everybody who is able to work does so, and gets a fair income for his labour, and incomes do not differ substantially.

In a true Socialist State it is only the following categories of people who can live on other people's labour: Children, the aged, cripples and those for whom the State at any one time cannot provide with employment.

Tanzania is a state of Peasants and Workers, but it is not yet a socialist State. It still has elements of Capitalism and Feudalism and their temptations. These elements could expand and entrench themselves.

(b) Major Means of Production to be under the Control of Peasants and Workers:

The way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the Peasants and the Workers themselves through their Government and their co-operatives. It is also necessary to ensure that the ruling party is a Party of Peasants and Workers.

These major means of production are: the land; forest; mineral resources; water; oil and electricity; communications; transport; banks; insurance; import and export trade; wholesale business; the steel; machine-tool; arms, motor-car, cement, and fertilizer factories; the textile industry; and any other big industry upon which a large section of the population depends for their living, or which provides essential components for other industries; large plantations, especially those which produce essential raw materials.

Some of these instruments production are already under the Control and ownership of the people's Government.

(c) Democracy:

A state is not socialist simply because all, or all the major, means of production are controlled and owned by the Government. It is necessary for the Government to be elected and led by Peasants and Workers. If the racist Governments of Rhodesia and South Africa were to bring the major means of production in these countries under their control and direction, this would entrench Exploitation. It would not bring about Socialism. There cannot be true Socialism without Democracy.

(d) Socialism is an ideology:

Socialism is an Ideology. It can only be implemented by people who firmly believe in its principles and are prepared to put them into practice. A true member of TANU is a socialist, and his compatriots, that is his fellow believers in this political and economic faith, are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for their rights of the peasants and workers. The first duty of a TANU member, and especially of a TANU leader, is to live by these principles in his day-to-day life. In particular a TANU leader should never live on another's labour, neither should he have capitalist or feudalist tendencies. The realization of these socialist objectives depends a great deal on the leadership, for as stated above, Socialism is an ideology, and it is difficult for leaders to implement it if they do not believe in it.

PART THREE
THE POLICY OF SELF-RELIANCE

We are at war: TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country; this struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania (and the people of Africa as a whole;) from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity. We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. We now intend to bring about a revolution which will ensure that we are never again victims of these things. A poor man does not use Money as a Weapon: But it is obvious that in the past we have chosen the wrong weapon for our struggle, because we chose money as our weapon. We are trying to overcome our economic weakness by using the weapons of the economically strong-weapons which in fact we do not possess. By our thoughts,

words and actions it appears as if we cannot bring about the revolution we are aiming at. It is as if we have said, "Money is the basis of development. Without money there can be no development."

This is what we believe at present. TANU leaders, and Government leaders and officials, all put great emphasis and dependence on money. The people's leaders, and the people themselves, in TANU, NUTA, Parliament, UWT, and Co-operatives, TAPA and in other national institutions think, hope and pray for MONEY. It is as if we had all agreed to speak with one voice saying: "If we get money we shall develop, without money, we cannot develop." In brief, our Five-Year Development Plan aims at more food, more education and better health; but the weapon we have put emphasis upon is money. It is as if we said: "In the next five years we want to have more food, more education and better health and in order to achieve these things we shall spend $250,000,000." We think and speak as if the most important thing to depend upon is MONEY and everything else we intend to use our struggle is of minor importance.

When a Member of Parliament says that there is a shortage of water in his constituency and he asks the Government how it intends to deal with the problem, he expects the Government to reply that it is planning to remove the shortage of water in his constituency-WITH MONEY.

When another Member of Parliament asks what the Government is doing about the shortage of roads, schools or hospitals in his constituency, he also expects the Government to tell him that it has specific plans to build roads, schools and hospitals in his constituency-with MONEY.

When a NUTA official asks the Government about its plans to deal with the low wages and poor housing of the workers, he expects the Government to inform him that the minimum wage will be increased and that better houses will be provided for the workers- with MONEY.

When a TAPA officials asks the Government what plans it has to give assistance to the many TAPA schools which do not get Government aid, he expects the Government to state that it is ready the following morning to give the required assistance - of MONEY.

When an official of the Co-operative Movement mentions any problem facing the farmer, he expects to hear that the Government

will solve the farmer's problem- with MONEY. In short, for every problem facing our Nation, the solution that is in everybody's mind is MONEY.

Each year, each Ministry of Government makes its estimates of expenditure, i.e., the amount of money it will require in coming year to meet recurrent and development expenses. Only one Minister and his Ministry makes estimates of revenue. This is the Minister for Finance. Every Ministry puts forward very good development plans. When the Ministry presents its estimates, it believes that the money is there for the asking but that the Minister for Finance and his Ministry are being obstructive. And regularly each year the Minister for Finance has to tell his fellow Ministers that there is no money. And each year the Ministries complain about the Ministry of Finance when it trims down their estimates.

Similarly, when Members of Parliament and other leaders demand that the Government should carry out a certain development, they believe that there is a lot of money to spend on such projects, but that the Government is the stumbling block. Yet such belief on the part of the Ministers, Members of Parliament and other leaders do not alter the stark truth, which is that Government has no money.

When it is said that Government has no money what does this mean? It means that the people of Tanzania have insufficient money. The people pay taxes out of the very little wealth they have; it is from these taxes that the Government meets its recurrent and development expenditure. When we call on the Government to spend more money on development projects, we are asking the Government to use more money. And if the Government does not have any more, the only way it can do this is to increase its revenue through extra taxation.

If one calls on the Government to spend more, one is in effect calling on the Government to increase taxes. Calling on the Government to spend more without raising taxes is like demanding that the Government should perform miracles; it is equivalent to asking for more milk from a cow while insisting that the cow should not be milked again. But our refusal to admit that calling on the Government to spend monies the same as calling on the Government to raise taxes shows that we fully realize the difficulties of increasing taxes. We realise that the cow has no more milk -that is, that the people find it

difficult to pay more taxes. We know that the cow would like to have more milk which could be sold to provide more comfort for itself or its calves. But knowing all the things which could be done with more milk does not alter the fact that the cow has no more milk!

What of External Aid?

One way we employ to try to escape the need for increased taxation for development purposes is to put emphasis on money coming from outside Tanzania. This money from outside falls in three categories:

(a) Grants: This means that another Government gives our Government a sum of money as a free gift for a given development scheme. Sometimes it may be that an Institution in another country gives our government or an Institution in our country financial help for development programmes.

(b) Loans: The greater portion of financial help we expect to get from outside is not in the form of gifts or charity, but in the form of loans. A foreign Government or a foreign institution, such as a Bank, lends our Government money for the purposes of development. Such a loan has repayment conditions attached to it, covering such factors as the time period of which it is available and the rate of interest.

Private Investment: The third category of financial help is also greater than the first. This takes the form of investment in our country by individuals or companies from outside. The important condition which such private companies have in mind is that the enterprise into which they put their money should bring them profit and that our Government should permit them to repatriate these profits. They also prefer to invest in a country whose policies they agree with and which will safeguard their economic interests. These three are the main categories of external finance. There is a great deal of talk on this question of getting money from external sources. Our Government and our leaders and other people keep on thinking about ways of getting money from outside. And when we get the money, or even the promise of it, our newspapers, our radio and our leaders announce the news so that everybody may know that salvation has been obtained or is on the way. When we get a gift we make an announcement; when we get a loan or a new industry we make an announcement. In the same way, when we are given the promise of a gift, a loan or a new industry, we make an announcement of this promise.

Even when we have merely started discussions with a foreign government or institution for a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement- even though we do not know the outcome of the discussions. Why do we do all this? Because we want people to know that we have started discussions which will bring prosperity.

DO NOT LET US DEPEND UPON MONEY FOR DEVELOPMENT

It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial reasons. It is stupid for two reasons.

Firstly, we shall not get the money. It is true that there are countries which can, and which would like to help us. But there is no country which is prepared to give us gifts or loans, or establish industries, to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development targets. There are many needy countries in the world. And even if all the prosperous nations were willing to help the needy countries, the assistance would still not suffice. But prosperous nations are not willing to give all they could. Even in these prosperous nations, the rich do not willingly give money to the government to relieve want. Money could only be extracted from the rich through taxation. Even then tax revenue is not enough. However, heavily we taxed the citizens of Tanzania and aliens living here, the resulting revenue would not meet the costs of our development programme. Neither is there any Government in the world which can tax the prosperous or rich nations in order to help the poor nations. Even if there was such a government, the revenue would not be enough do all that is needed. But in fact there is world Government . Such money as the rich nations offer to poor nations is given voluntarily, either through their goodness or for their own benefit. For all these reasons it is impossible for us to get enough money for development from overseas.

Appendix A

GIFTS AND LOANS WILL ENDANGER OUR INDEPENDENCE

Secondly, even if it were possible for us to get enough money for our needs from external sources, is this what we really want. Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a Nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. Even if there was a Nation, or Nations, prepared to give us all the money we need for our development, it would be improper for us to accept such assistance without asking ourselves how this would affect our independence and our very survival as a nation. Gifts which start off or stimulate our own efforts are useful gifts. But gifts which weaken our own efforts should not be accepted without asking ourselves a number of questions.

The same applies to loans. It is true that loans are better than free gifts. A loan is intended to increase our efforts or make those efforts more fruitful. One condition of a loan is that you show how you are going to repay it. This means that you have to show that you intend to use the loan profitably and will therefore be able to repay it.

But even loans have their limitations. You have to give consideration to the ability to repay. When we borrow money from other countries it is the Tanzanian who pays it back. And as we have already stated, Tanzanians are poor people. To burden the people with big loans, the repayment of which will be beyond their means, is not to help them but make them suffer. It is even worse when the loans they are asked to repay have not benefited the majority of the people but have only benefited a small minority.

How about the enterprises of foreign investors? It is true we need these enterprises. We have passed an Act of Parliament protecting foreign investments in this country. Our aim is to make foreign investors feel that Tanzania is a good place in which to invest because investments would be safe and profitable, and the profits can be taken out of the country without difficulty. We expect to get money through this method. But we cannot get enough. And even if we were able to convince foreign investors and foreign firms to undertake all the projects and programmes of economic development that we need, is that what we actually want to happen?

How have we been able to attract investors from America and

Europe to come and start all the industries and all the projects of economic development that we need in this country, could we have done so without questioning ourselves? Would we have agreed to leave the economy of our country in the hands of foreigners who would take the profits back to their countries? Supposing they did not insist on taking the profits away, but decided to reinvest them in Tanzania? Would we accept this situation without asking ourselves what disadvantages it would have for our Nation? How can we build the Socialism we are talking about under such circumstances?

How can we depend upon gifts, loans and investments from foreign countries and foreign companies without endangering our independence? The English people have a proverb which says: "He who pays the piper calls the tune." How can we depend upon foreign Governments and companies for the major part of our development without giving those Governments and countries a great part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is that we cannot.

Let us therefore always remember the following. We have make a mistake to choose money, something which we do not have, to be our major instrument of development. We are mistaken when we imagine that we shall get money form foreign countries, firstly, because to say the truth we can not get enough money for our development, and secondly, because even if we could get it such complete dependence on outside help would have endangered our independence and the other policies of our country.

WE HAVE PUT TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON INDUSTRIES

Because of our emphasis on money, we have made another big mistake. We have put too much emphasis in industries. Just as we have said "Without money there can be no development," we also seem to say "Industries are the basis of development, without industries there is no development." This is true. The day when we have lots of money we shall be able to say we are a developed country. We shall be able to say: "When we began our development plans we did not have enough money and this situation made it difficult for us to develop as fast as we wanted. Today we are developed and we have enough money." That is to say, our money has been brought by development. Similarly, the day we become industrialised, we shall be able to say we

are developed. Development would have us to have industries. The mistake we are making is to think that development begins with industries. It is a mistake because we do not have the means to establish many modern industries in our country. We do not have either the necessary finances or the technical know-how. It is not enough to say that we shall borrow the finances and the technicians from other countries to come and start the industries. The answer to this is the same one we gave earlier, that we cannot get enough money and borrow enough technicians to start all the industries we need. And even if we could get the necessary assistance, dependence on it could interfere with our policy on Socialism. The policy of inviting a chain of capitalists to come and establish industries in our country might succeed in giving us all the industries we need, but it would also succeed in preventing the establishment of socialism unless we believe that without first building capitalism, we cannot build socialism.

LET US BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PEASANT FARMER

Our emphasis on money and industries has made us concentrate on urban development. We recognize that we do not have enough money to bring the kind of development to each village which would benefit everybody. We also know that we cannot establish an industry in each village and through this means effect a rise in the real incomes of the people. For these reasons we spend most of our money in the urban areas and our industries are established in the towns.

Yet the greater part of this money that we spend in the towns comes from loans. Whether it is used to build schools, hospitals, houses or factories, etc., it still has to be repaid. But it is obvious that it cannot be repaid just out of money obtained from urban and industrial development. To repay the loans we have to use foreign currency which is obtained from the sale of our exports. But we do not now sell our industrial products in foreign markets, and indeed it is likely to be a long time before our industries produce for export. The main aim of our new industries is "import substitution"- that is, to produce things which up to now we have had to import from foreign countries.

It is therefore obvious that the foreign currency we shall use to pay back the loans used in the development of the urban areas will not

come from the towns or the industries. Where then shall we get it from? We shall get it from villages and from agriculture. What does this mean? It means that the people who benefit directly from development which is brought about by borrowed money are not the one who will repay the loans. The largest proportion of the loans, will be spent in, or for, the urban areas, but the largest proportion of the repayment will be made through the efforts of the farmers.

The fact should always be borne in mined(mind), for there are various forms of exploitation. We must not forget that people who live in towns can possibly become the exploiters of those who live in the rural areas. All our big hospitals are in towns and they benefit only a small section of the people of Tanzania. Yet if we have built them with loans form outside Tanzania, it is the overseas sale of the peasants' produce which provides the foreign exchange for repayment. Those who do not get the benefit of the hospitals thus carry the major responsibility for paying for them. Tarmac roads, too, are mostly found in towns and are of especial value to the motor-car owners. Yet if we have built these roads with loans, it is again the former who produces the goods which will pay for them. What is more, the foreign exchange with which the car was bought also came from the sale of the farmer's produce. Again, electric lights, water pipes, hotes(hotels) and other aspects of modern development are mostly found in towns. Most of them have been built with loans, and most of them do not benefit the farmer directly, although they will be paid for by the foreign exchange earned by the sale of this(his) produce. We should always bear this in mind. Although when we talk of exploitation we usually thing of capitalists, we should not forget that there are many fish in the sea. They eat each other. The large one eat the small ones and the small ones eats those who are even smaller. There are two possible ways of dividing the people of our country. We can put the capitalists and feudalists on one side and the peasants and workers on the other. But we can also divide the people into urban dwellers on one side and those who live in the rural areas on the other. If we are not careful we might get into the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants.

Appendix A

THE PEOPLE and AGRICULTURE

The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development. The four prerequisites of development are different: they are (I) People; (ii) Land; (iii) Good Policies; (iv) Good leadership. Our country has more than ten million people and its area is more than 362,000 square miles.

AGRICULTURE IS THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT

A great part of Tanzania's land is fertile and gets sufficient rains. Our country can produce various crops for home consumption and for export.

We can produce food crops (which can be exported if we produce in large quantities) such as maize, rice, wheat, beans, groundnuts, etc. And we can produce such cash crops as sisal, cotton, coffee, tobacco, pyrethum, tea, etc.

Our land is also good for grazing cattle, goats, sheep, and for raising chickens, etc.; we can get plenty of fish from our rivers, lakes and from the sea. All of our farmers are in areas which can produce two or three or even more of the food and cash crops enumerated above, and each farmer could increase his production so as to get more food or more money. And because the main aim of development is to get more food, and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of these agricultural crops. This is in fact the only road through which we can develop our country - in other words, only by increasing our production of these things can we get more food and more money for every Tanzanian.

THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

(a) Hard Work:

Everybody wants development; but not everybody understands and accepts the basic requirements for development. The biggest requirement is hard work. Let us go to the villages and talk to our people and see whether or not it is possible for them to work harder.

In towns, for example, the average paid worker works seven-and-a-half or eight hours a day for six or six-a-half days a week. This is

about 45 hours a week, excluding two or three weeks' leave every year. This means that an urban worker works for 45 hours a week in 48 to 50 weeks a year.

For a country like ours these are really quite short working hours.

(This is the main body of the Document)

February 1967

Appendix B-1

The Signifying Chant of the Dodge
Revolutionary Union Movement
1968

OUR THING IS DRUM

Deep in the gloom
of the firefilled pit
Where the Dodge rolls down the line,
We challenge the doom of dying in shit
While strangled by the swine...
...For hours and years
we've sweated bitter tears
Trying to break out of these chains
But we broke our backs
and died in packs
To find our manhood slain....
But now we stand
For DRUM'S at hand
To lead our freedom fight,
and from now til then
we'll unite like men
For now we know our might
and damn the plantation
and the whole Dodge nation
For DRUM has dried our tears...
And now as we die
We've a different cry
For now we hold our spears!
U.A.W. is scum...
OUR THINGS IS DRUM!!!!!

Signifying From the Point of Production-

DRUM 1968

Appendix B-2

From: *The General Policy Statement And Labor Program of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers-1969*

THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS' GENERAL PROGRAM

(HERE'S WHERE WE'RE COMING FROM)

The league of Revolutionary Black Workers is dedicated to waging a relentless struggle against racism, capitalism, and imperialism. We are struggling for the liberation of black people in the confines of the United States as well as to play a major revolutionary role in the liberation of all oppressed people in the world.

In U.S. society, a small class owns the basic means of production. There aren't any black people in this class, nor are the masses of whites, however, they are not in the same position of blacks.

Our black community is virtually a black working class, because of our relationship to the basic means of production. Black workers comprise the backbone of the productive process in this country. Since slavery, we have been the major producers of goods and services. In addition, we've produced goods under the most inhumane conditions. Our black community comprises industrial workers, social service workers, our gallant youth, and many ad hoc community groups.

The racist subordination of black people and black workers create a privileged status for white people and white workers. While the imperialist oppression and exploitation of the world creates privileged status for the people and workers of the U.S., the white labor movement has failed to deal with the worsening conditions of the black workers and the key role of black workers in the economy and the working class. The white labor movement has turned its back on black worker problems such as less job security, speed-up, less pay, bad health (silicosis, in particular), the worst

kind of jobs, and in most cases, exclusion from skilled trades.

These two systems of privilege become the basis for the aristocracy of white labor which gives white labor a huge stake in the imperialist system and renders white labor unable and unfit to lead the working class in the U.S.

United States' society is racist, capitalist, and imperialist by nature. It is aggressively expansive, exploitative, and oppressive. The expansion of U.S. imperialism is primarily by means of worldwide financial penetration, backed up by a worldwide military regime. This gives a monopoly control of the resources, wealth and labor of the capitalist world to U.S. finance capital. They use the most barbarous methods of warfare and subversion to maintain its billions of dollars in profit.

U.S. Imperialism supports every reactionary and fascist regime in the world by means of subversion, CIA assassinations, invasions, terror bombings, and criminal means of warfare. U.S. imperialism also resorts to nuclear blackmail, to intimidate the revolutionary peoples of the world. Imperialism faces its inevitable destruction as the national liberation struggles, currently focused in Southeast Asia, become worldwide. This involves the rest of Asia, including populous India, along with the emerging struggles in Latin America and the developing struggles in Africa. The workers and peoples of Europe are also drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle as the grip of U.S. imperialist loosens on Europe as the result of the struggles waged in the rest of the world.

The oppressive, imperialist nature of U.S. society is evidenced at home in the suppression of the black liberation struggle, workers' struggles, and anti-war struggles, in an increasingly militaristic fashion. One of the essential domestic props of U.S. imperialism is the white labor aristocracy which shares in the spoils of the plunder of the world and is based in the domestic subordination of black workers.

The white labor aristocracy collaborates with the U.S.imperialist government in its aggressive wars, its CIA subversion and supports its political line. It also colludes with monopoly corporations at home to allow speed-up and unsafe working conditions, inflation that outstrips any wage gains, leaves most workers unorganized, and supports the

brutal subordination of black workers.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers emerged specifically, out of the failure of the white labor movement to address itself to the racist work conditions and to the general inhumane conditions of black people.

Our strength comes from the historical and heroic struggles of our people, our inspiration comes from the international struggles, and our convictions are guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is a political organization. We relate to the total black community. Our actual practice involves us with industrial and service workers, youth, and several ad hoc group; these categories make up the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Our duty is to plan the most feasible means to insure freedom and justice for the liberation of black people based on the concrete conditions we relate to. In addition, we have the task of training our people for leadership and other special capacities that make a viable organization. Most importantly, the direction of our organization is clear. We're not talking about dealing with a single issue as the only factor, nor are we talking about reforms in the system ; but we are talking about the seizure of state power.

It is clear to us that the development of our struggle based on concrete realities, dictates the need for black peoples' liberation political party. We state, unequivocally, that this must be a black Marxist-Leninist party, designed to liberate black people, dedicated to leading the workers' struggles in this country, and resolved to wage a relentless struggle against imperialism.

The League's program for building a black Marxist-Leninist party is as follows:

(1) Organizing of black workers on the broadest possible scale into the League and its component parts.

(2) Politicizing and educating the masses of black people to the nature of racism, capitalism, and imperialism, to further outline the solution to these problems in league programs and documents.

(3) Supporting the efforts of our people to develop a broad economic base within the community to aid the revolutionary struggle.

(4) Developing a broad based self-defense organization in the community.

(5) Carrying on unceasing struggles on behalf of black workers and the total community.

(6) Forming principled alliances and coalitions, on the broadest possible base, with other oppressed minorities, organizations, movements, and forces, black or white, which struggle against the evils of racism, capitalism and imperialism.

Our short range objective is to secure state power with the control of the means of production in the hands of the workers under the leadership of the most advanced section of the working class, the black working class vanguard.

Our long range objective is to create a society free of race, sex, class, and national oppression, founded on the humanitarian principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

INTRODUCTION - LABOR PROGRAM

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers sees the organization of Black Workers as essential to the success of the Black liberation movement in america, and the ending of oppression of all peoples throughout the world. American capitalism is based upon the extraction of surplus value from wage-earners within this nation and the extraction of natural resources and lucrative markets and excessive surplus value internationally through the mechanism of international imperialism. Racism has historically been used to moderate class struggle in the U.S.

through the creation of a stratified working class. White workers, by and large, enjoy the largest positions within the working population, receiving higher renumeration and producing less than Black Workers.

Black people were originally brought to America as slaves. Slave labor played the primary role in the creation of surplus value (i.e. capital) which led to the rapid development of modern industry. Since the demise of chattel slavery, the Black population has shifted from the position of the primary source of capital formation and industry builders as an agrarian subproletariat, to a primary source of capital formation as the most exploited section of the American industrial proletariat.

The policy of white skin privilege has placed Black workers at the very foundation of industry. Racism has been effectively used time and time again to prevent a unified colorless proletariat from carrying on a protracted revolutionary struggle against capitalism and imperialism. Each time white and Black people have shown indications of unifying, calculated racist propaganda, legal and reactionary social campaigns have been launched by the white ruling class to turn the oppressed white population against the oppressed Blacks. The history of reconstructing and redemption is a classic example of this recurring tactic. The Populist Movement disintegrated with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Codes, universal segregation and rule-by-lynch law. Black Populists, organizationally tied to the discipline of the white leadership, were incapable of independently struggling against the ruling class and the white racists. After the Civil War there was a conscious attempt by whites to remove Blacks from any positions in the proletariat. This movement began with the expulsion of Blacks from skilled trades positions, especially in the South. But developing monopoly capitalism in the late 19th and 20th Century often times required a working force capable of laboring under the hardest and most oppressive conditions, and in many occupations, such as mining, shipping, railroad building etc., the collie labor force was found among Blacks, Chinese and other minorities and European immigrants.

Racism and white skin privilege also had its reverse effects for white laborers. In segregated industries, where whites found themselves being oppressed and exploited to the extreme that they began to

organize and to carry on strikes and struggles against capitalist management, the white rulers, as policy, shipped tens of thousands of Black peasants into industrial areas to break the strikes of white workers. Through this process Black Workers gained entrance into the modern industrial proletariat.

Eventually, the union movement was forced to reach an unstable accommodation with Black labor. With the sections ruling class switching its position from incipient fascism to racial "liberalism" (favoring equal employment) the white unionists finally understood that no significant organization of workers into unions could take place without the inclusion of Black Workers. As late as 1940 the U.A.W. was forced to include Blacks in the unionization drive when Black Workers at the huge Ford Rouge complex broke the picket lines of striking white unionists. The accommodation was the institutionalization of white skin privilege within the working class and within the union. Under this de facto settlement, union leadership remained firmly in the hands of whites. Blacks were relegated permanently to the lowest paying, most unsafe jobs (production and foundry) while white workers held cleaner, better paying positions and monopolized the skilled trades.

Under this agreement, it was the Black laborer who was hardest hit by the excesses of management, constantly facing speed-up, industrial disease, accidents and threatened by lay-offs etc. But simultaneously, Black Workers were shifted to the most productive sectors of industry where the formation of finished goods was literally the fusion of sweat, blood, muscles, life and raw materials and the transformation of these elements into finished products. Being located at primary points of production, Blacks have become increasingly essential to continuation of American industry far out of proportion to the Black percentage of the population.

As the most exploited and productive sector of the proletariat beset by all the other contradictions of a racist society, Black workers have become the first to recognize the oppressive nature of capitalism, and the leading force for opposing this unnatural deadly system.

Though both the unions and the companies have used innumerable tricks to prevent the organization of Blacks into

independent groups, hundreds of Black caucuses have spontaneously risen within industry over the past decade. These caucuses have attempted to struggle along class lines and against racism using every conceivable tactic and strategy, from internal reformist unionist tactics to undirected Black cultural nationalism to anarchistic sabotage movements.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers and its affiliates represents the highest level which the conscious insurgent movement of Black labor has reached. In the League there is a substantial base in the Black proletariat established which is organized and guided by the principles of Marxist-Leninism. There is total independence from the established union bureaucracy and an affirmed unity with all elements of the society which are struggling for freedom, justice and equality. It is only through the mechanism of just such a disciplined organization following the correct analytical and organizational principles through which the most advanced section of the proletariat will be organized to assume its proper position as the vanguard which will guide the proletariat and all progressive sectors of society in the successful struggle to overthrow and forever eradicate the evils of racism, capitalism and imperialism.

[Other sections from ***The General Policy Statement and Labor Program of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers*** Omitted Here.....]

BLACK WOMEN WORKERS

Black women at large have been viciously discriminated against in the labor market. Only 7.2% of all employed Black women are in executive or professional capacities. 26% are employed in positions such as lower clerical or clerks. Household worker categories find that Black women make up 54% of all employees.

The majority of these women are in non-union shops and even those in unions are viciously discriminated against. It is common practice in a health facility, to force a nurse's aide to pay union dues

during a 90 day probationary period. If on the 89th day of employment she is fired or suspended, the union does not bargain for her. If she chooses to struggle it is likely that she will find herself forced on to public relief in order to survive. Those working women involved in efforts at unionization led by labor bureaucrats often find that after the union is voted in, their only "gain" is the financial loss of their union dues.

Black women are a significant section of the reserve labor force. During a war, she is inducted into industry as a factory worker. Black women are fired in plants because of labor shortages. They have been subjected to harrassment by white racist foremen and supervisors and it is not uncommon for them to be forced to be sexually submissive to keep their jobs. Besides being a reserve labor force herself, Black women also physically reproduces the future labor force.

In heavier industry like automobile or aviation plants, Black women especially, have been used viciously to increase production. They have been forced to produce and perform jobs identical to those of men. If summarily fired from their jobs, these ADC mothers are in dnager of no further assistance. Black women with children or whoare pregnant are penalized by their employers. Despite the fact that their children are a reserve labor force, the implication is that their children are a burden to society. A Black pregnant woman receives neither disability or unemployment compensation. In many places, if she is a menial or domestic worker, she receives no hospitalization either. A woman known to have small children may be forced to work overtime. Her supervisor or foreman is usually well aware of the fact that he is asking her to leave helpless children unattended. Another common practice is to disallow wages to a Black woman if she has to stay home with a sick child. The government along with production, plays its part in discrimination against Black working women by making it impossible for these working women to qualify for any child care plan or maternity plan. An example is the recent refusal of the Michigan Health Department to distribute surplus food to pregnant women and their preschool children because there was "no warehouse from which distribution could be made."

Black women in office business employment are also subjected

to outright racism. This occurs in discriminatory hiring, promotion policies, job security and job placement. A woman can be fired for relating to any organization relating to revolutionary change. She is usually not hired after a pregnacy. Many potential office workers are not hired at all if they have small children. Nor is it unusual for a secretary or clerk to spend one-half or one-third of her wage for child care.

Black girls in school are usually placed in curriculums totally alien to surviving in a complex industrial society. Those girls who oppose this are usually channeled into a business or pre-professional curriculum. While most Black women understand the inequities within the society, few are able to move as a group to change it, because of social and psychological factors.

Their social problems revolve around the contradicting myths in this society. Many working class Black woman are infatuated with the "Middle Class Ideal." Despite the fact that they are slaving at home and on the job, they believe their lives can be structured like the Madison Avenue consumer they see on television or read about. They put a tremendous amount of pressure on Black men to purchase the material toys of the white middle class. Some even brainwash their children to worship the "American way of life".

By and large the Black working woman's overt reaction to the society is dissimilar to her subconscious reaction. She too hates her employer and the system, but she has not learned how to struggle to change it.

The League's involvement with organizing Black working women has been slow. The lives of Black working women are structured to make it very difficulty to engage in struggle organizing. This organizing must be increased, using the resources of the League and the community around the League's overall program. Care must be taken to encourage the women to innovate methods to deal with their own problems collectively. Also, care would have to be taken to se their efforts are not co-opted. This could be achieved by meeting women's practical needs. Among these would be child care, health facilities, educational facilities for children and parents. Most important would be on-going political and development classes. Finally, there

has to be formed within the League, a woman's department to organize affiliates to the League and the Independent American Workers Union, and to address the problems of the Black working women.

[Other sections from ***The General Policy Statement and Labor Program of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers*** Omitted Here.....]

THE SPECIFIC GOALS OF THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS

We must provide constitutions organizational guidelines, programmatic demands, collect dues and correlate specific campaigns for each plant group. Each plant group must build membership through well organized membership drives, establish well organized meetings, issue membership cards for different levels of membership. Blue ribbon stewards must be established and campaigns around safety issues organized.. In each open campaign slogans which are carefully developed and politically considered and relevant to black workers must be employed.

The affiliated organizations must be organized as components of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. The education of the leadership must be consciously developed as a priority. In particular industries, districts and higher, organizations must be formulated. In the auto industry the regional guidelines of the U.A.W. structure should be employed.

It is the policy of the League of Revolutionary Black workers to capture unions whenever possible. It has been our practice that well organized campaigns can capture unions with community and student support. It is also the policy of the League that whenever the above is not possible, there must be a push for decertification drives and an effort to affiliate those workers with the I.A.W.U.

The Labor Strike and Defense Fund must be built with a soled administrative base, with well publicized campaigns, local committees to establish fund raising drives throughout the community and to take regular contributions.

Black workers must be educated and prepared ahead of time to the nature and purpose of specific strikes must be well organized, encompassing strike kitchens, funds, legal aid and health insurance under the Labor Strike and Defense Fund. Plant publications must be built in each plant or district of the immediate higher level organizations. These publications must address themselves to the specific problems of labor and political and social problems in the community. They should inform the workers of the specific activities of the local organizations and the League and deal with the unfair policies and racist exploitative deeds of the Company and Union. Local groups should strive to train workers in writing and propaganda skills so as to be able to write for local publications. These publications must be distributed efficiently and thoroughly in the plant regularly, on a weekly or bi-monthly basis - without fail. The distribution network is our primary method of disseminating information about the organization and the struggle in the plants and is the skeletal network around which the mass is constructed. The plant membership and especially the leadership must be familiar with the League Program and its programmatic demands. Local organizations must insure that articles on in-plant activity are submitted to the Inner-City Voice - in case of specific problems wider publication should be turned over to other League publications and Black Star Press. The distribution of pamphlets, books, etc. is essential in the plant for discussion.

The League must carry on a relentless struggle in the plant against the racist UAW and expand upon the programmatic demands of the League.

We must constantly prepare to engage in struggle by preparing ahead of time to win steward ships, committeemen, trustees and convention delegates and to coordinate intra-plant efforts constantly, seeking out new leadership to oppose the bureaucracy.

The League must challenge Union and Corporate influence in the black community, education and familiarizing the membership with

the interlocking connections between the different boards of directors for corporations and unions. We must oppose candidates of these groupings in elections.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers must educate and politicize black workers to the nature of U.S. society on a consistent and determined basis. We must advance the line that black workers are the vanguard sector of the proletariat and the only social sector capable of leading a social revolution in this country.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers must seek out principal alliances with other alliances with other revolutionary and progressive organizations, groups and caucuses both black and white, over specific issues and programs.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers-1969

Appendix B-3

THE MANIFESTO

TO THE WHITE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND THE JEWISH SYNOGOGUES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ALL OTHER RACIST INSTITUTIONS

PRESENTATION BY JAMES FORMAN
ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE DETROIT, MICHIGAN APRIL 26, 1969

We the black people assembled in Detroit, Michigan for the National Black Economic Development Conference are fully aware that we have been forced to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as colonized people inside the United States, victimized by the most vicious, racist system in the world. We have helped to build the most industrial country in the world.

We are therefore demanding of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues which are a part and parcel of the system of capitalism that they begin to pay reparations to black people in this country. We are demanding $500,000,000 from the Christian white churches and Jewish synagogues. This total comes to 15 dollars per nigger. This is a low estimate for we maintain there are probably more than 30,000,000 Black people in the country. $15 a nigger is not a large sum of money and we know that the churches and synagogues have a tremendous wealth and its membership, white America, has profited and still exploits black people. We are also not unaware that the exploitation of colored peoples around the world is aided and abetted by the White Christian churches and synagogues. This demand for $500,000,000 is

not an idle resolution or empty words. Fifteen dollars for every black brother and sister in the United States is only a beginning of the reparation due us as people who have been exploited and degraded, brutalized, killed and persecuted. Underneath all of this exploitation, the racism of this country has produced psychological effect upon us that we're beginning to shake off. We are no longer afraid to demand our full rights as a people in this decadent society.
We are demanding $500,000,000 to be spent in the following way :

1) We call for the establishment of a Southern land bank to help our brothers and sisters who have to leave their land because or racist pressure for people who want to establish cooperative farms, but who have no funds. We have seen too many farmers evicted from homes because they have dared to defy the white racism of this country. We need money for land. We must fight for massive sums of money for this Southern Land Bank. We call for $200,000,000 to implement this program.

2) We call for the establishment of four major publishing and printing industries in the United States to be funded with ten million dollars each. These publishing houses to be located in Detroit, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and New York. They will help to generate capital for further cooperate investments in the black community, provide jobs and an alternative to the white -dominated and controlled printing field.

3) We call for the establishment of four of the most advanced scientific and futuristic audio-visual network to be located in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, and alternative to the racist propaganda that fills the current television networks. Each of these TV networks will be funded by ten million dollars each.

4) We call for a research skills center which will provide research on the problems of black people. This center must be funded with no less than 30 million dollars.

5) We call for the establishment of a training center for the teaching of skills in community organization, photography, movie making, television making, and repair, radio making and repair and all other skills needed in communication. This training service shall be funded with no less than ten million dollars.

6) We recognize the role of the National Welfare Rights Organization and we intend to work with them. We call for ten million dollars to assist in the organization of welfare recipients. We want to organize the welfare workers in this country so that they may demand more money from the government and better administration of the welfare system in this country.

7) We call for $20,000,000 for the establishment of a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund. This is necessary for the protection of black workers and their families who are fighting racist working conditions in this country.

8) We call for the establishment of the United Blacks Appeal (UBA). United Black Appeal will be funded with no less than $20,000,000. The UBA is charged with producing more capital for the establishment of cooperative businesses in the United States and important demands that we are making for we know that it can generate and raise funds throughout the United States and help our African brothers. The UBA is charged with three functions and shall be headed by James Forman:

a) Raising money for the program of the National Black Economic Development Conference.

b) The development of cooperatives in African countries and support of African Liberation movements.

c) Establishment of a Black Anti-Defamation league which will protect our African image.

9) We call for the establishment of a Black University to be funded with $130,000,000 to be located in the South. Negotiations are presently under way with a Southern University.

10) We demand that IFCO allocate all unused funds in the planning budget to implement the demands of this conference.

In order to win these demands we are aware that we will have to have massive support, therefore:

1) We call upon all black people throughout the United State to consider themselves as members of the National Black Economic Development Conference and to act in unity to help force the racis(t) white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues to implement thesedemands.

2) We call upon all the concerned black people across the country black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed, community groups, welfare organizations, church leaders and organizations, teachers organization explaining how these demands are vital to the black community of the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. All black people should act boldly in confronting our white oppressors and demandin(g) this modest reparation of $15 per black man.

3) Delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development conference are urged to call press conferences in the cities and to attempt to get as many black organizations as possible to support the demands of the conference. The quick use of the press in the local areas will heighten the tension and these demands must be attempted to be won in a short period of time, although we prepare for protracted and long range struggle.

4) We are for the total disruption of selected church sponsored agencies operating anywhere in the U.S and the Black workers, black women, black students and the black unemploye(d) are encouraged to seize the offices, telephones, and printing apparatus of all church sponsored agencies and to hold these in trusteeship until our demands are met.

5) We call upon all delegates and member of the National Black Economic Development Conference to stage sit-in demonstration(s) at selected black and white churches. This is not to be interpreted as a continuation of the sit-in movement of the early sixties but we know that active confrontation inside white churches is possible and will strengthen the possibility of meeting our demands. Such confrontation can take the form of reading the Black Manifesto instead of a sermon or passing it out to church members. The principles of self-defense should be applied if attacked.

6) On May 4, 1969 or a date thereafter, depending upon local conditions, we call upon black people to commence the disruption of the racist churches and synagogues throughout the United States.

7) We call upon all delegates to find within the white community those forces which are not under the leadership of black to implement these demands by whatever means necessary. By taking such actions, white Americans will demonstrate concretely that they are willing to fight the white skin privilege and the white supremacy and racism which has forced us a black people to make these demands.

8) We call upon all white Christians and Jews to practice patience, and tolerance, and understanding, and nonviolence; as they have encouraged, advised and demanded that we as black people should do throughout our entire enforced slavery in the United States. The true test of their faith and belief in the Cross and the words of the prophets will certainly be put to the test as we seek legitimate and extremely modest reparations for our role in developing the industrial base of the western world through our slave labor. But we are no longer slaves, we are men and women, proud of our African heritage, demanding to have our dignity.

9) We are so proud of our African heritage and realize concretely that our struggle is not only to make revolution in the United States, but to protect our brothers and sisters in Africa and to help rid

themselves of racism, capitalism and imperialism by whatever means necessary, including armed struggle. We are and must be willing to fight the defamation of our African image wherever it rears its ugly head. We are therefore charging the steering committee to create a Black Anti-Defamation League to be funded by money from the International Black Appeal.

10) We fully recognize that the revolution in the United States and Africa, our Motherland, is more than a one dimensional operation. It will require the total integration of the political, economic, and military components and therefore, we call upon all in the fields of engineering, electronics, research, community organization, physics, biology, chemistry, mathematics, medicine, military science, and warfare to assist the National Black Economic Development Conference in the implementation of its program.

11) To implement these demands we must have a fearless leadership. We must have a leadership which is willing to battle the church establishment to implement these demands. To win our demands we will have to declare war on the white Christian churches and synagogues and this means we may have to fight the total government structure of the country. Let no one here think that these demands will be met by our mere stating them. For the sake of the churches and synagogues, we hope that they have the wisdom to understand that these demands are modest and reasonable. But if the white Christians and Jews are not willing to meet our demands through peace and good will, then we declare war and we are eager to fight by whatever means necessary. We are, therefore, choosing the election of the following Steering Committee:

Jim Breedon	Ken Cockral(LRBW"s cadre)
Caine Felder	Althea Alexander
Julian Bond	Reverend Lucas
Calvin Marshall	Mark Comfort
Mike Hamlin(LRBW"s cadre)	Howard Fuller(Owusu Sadaki)
Earl Allen	Len Holt
James Forman(LRBW's cadre)	Robert Browne
Michael Wright	John Watson(LRBW's cadre)

Vincent Harding
annie Lou Hamer
Metz Rollins
Harold Holmes
Muhammad Kenyatta
Mel Jackson
Heywood Henry

Address by James Forman:

Brothers and sisters, we are no longer shuffling our feet, scratching our heads. We are tall, black, and proud.

And we say to the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues, to the government of the country, and to all the white racist imperialists who compose it, there is only one thing left you can do to further degrade black people and that is to kill us. But we have been dying too long for this country. We have died in every war. We are dying in Vietnam today fighting a wrong enemy.

The new black man wants to live and to (indistinguishable word) and to (indistinguishable word) means that we must not become static or merely believe in self-defense. We must boldly go out and attack the white Western world at its power centers. The white Christian churches are another form of government in this country and they are used by the government of this country to exploit the people of Latin America, Asia, and Africa, but th(a)t day is soon coming to an end. Therefore, brothers and sisters, the demands we make upon the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues are small demands. They epresent 15 dollars per black person in these United States. We can legitimately demand more from the United States government.

But to win our demands from the church which is linked up with the United States government, we must not forget that it will ultimately be by force and power that we will win.

We are not threatening the churches. We are saying that we know the churches came with the military might of the colonizers and have been sustained by the military might of the colonizers. Hence, if the churches in the colonial territories were established by military might, we know deep within our hearts that we must be prepared to use force and we are not opposed to violence. We are not saying that this is the road we want to take. It is not, but let us be very clear that

we are not opposed to force and we are not opposed to violence. We were captured in Africa by violence. We were kept in bondage and political servitude and forced to work as slaves by the military machinery and the Christian church working hand in hand.

We recognize that in issuing this manifesto we much prepare for a long educational campaign in all communities of this country, but we know that the Christian churches have contributed to our oppression in white America. We do not intend to abuse our black brothers and sisters in black churches who have uncritically accepted Christianity. We want them to understand how the racist white Christian church with its hypocritical declarations and doctrines of brotherhood has abused our trust and faith. An attack on the religious beliefs of black people is not our major objective, even though we know that we were not Christians when we were brought to this country, but that Christianity was used to help enslave us. Our objective in issuing this Manifesto is to force the racist white Christian Church to begin the payment of reparations which are due to all black people, not only by the Church but also by private business and the U.S. government. We see this focus on the Christian Church as an effort among which all black people can unite.

Our demands are negotiable, but they cannot be minimized; they can only be increased and the Church is asked to come up with larger sums of money than we are asking.

Our slogans are:

ALL ROADS MUST LEAD TO REVOLUTION

UNITE WITH WHOMEVER YOU CAN

NEUTRALIZE WHEREVER POSSIBLE

FIGHT OUR ENEMIES RELENTLESSLY

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE

LIFE AND GOOD HEALTH TO MANKIND

Appendix B

REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER

WE SHALL WIN WITHOUT A DOUBT

RESISTANCE TO DOMINATION BY THE WHITE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUES

Appendix B-4

CONFRONT THE RACIST UAW LEADERSHIP
Where: COBO HALL When: 11:00 O?CLOCK A.M.
SUNDAY NOV. 9, 1969
JOIN the League of Revolutionary Black Workers

WE DEMAND

Our Basic demand of the U.A.W. are:

(1) Halt U.A.W. racism. 50% representation for black workers on the international executive board. Fire Reuther and elect a black president and one black vice president, 50% of all international staff members should be black. Open skilled trades and apprentices to any black worker who applies. Recognition of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and its affiliates as the official spokesman for black workers on the local and national level with the power to negotiate black demands on the company and union and the power to call officially sanctioned strikes.

(2) We demand that the grievance procedure be completely revised so that grievances are settled immediately by the workers in the plant involved. The grievance procedure is used to prevent workers from using their strike power to fight abuses from management. Since the procedure completely ties the hands of workers and basically serves company interests it should be scraped and replaced by a completely new system.

(3) Elimination of all safety and health hazards in the auto industry. This means cleaning the air in the foundry and redesigning dangerous machinery and cut back in production on hazardous jobs.

(4) The union must fight vigorously against speed up and increases in production standards. The companies should double the size of their work force to meet the present workload. There were 650,000 production workers in auto in 1947 producing 4.5 million vehicles. In 1966 650,000 workers produced nearly 10 million vehicles loaded with accessories and options. We are working two and three times as hard for the same real income. With today's technology production standards can easily be cut to reasonable humane lines.

(5) The union must fight for a five hour work day and a four day work week. The profit level of industry is high enough to allow for more leisure time for workers.

(6) The union must fight for an immediate doubling of the wages of all production workers. Since 1960 wages of black workers have risen less than 25%. Yet profits have risen more than 90%. The pitifully small increase the black production workers have received has been completely wiped out by inflation. We know how wealthy the company is. We know how low their labor costs presently are. In fact, we know that it costs less than $100 in labor to produce a $3,000 car. We say increase that labor cost to $200 per car and double the wages immediately.

(7) We demand a cut in union dues. The union already collects $10 million a month from its members and can't defend the rights of the workers.

(8) We demand the end of the checkoff of union dues. While the checkoff was progressive in the 30's today it prevents workers from disciplining poor union leadership.

(9) We demand that all U.A.W. investment funds be used to finance economic development in the black community under programs of self determination. The union now holds over $90,000,000 in strike funds in white banks. The lost over $1,000,000 in strike funds when

a bank in California folded two years ago. We demand that all such money be held in black institutions and used in the black community.

(10) We demand that the union end its collusion with the United Foundation. Black workers should contribute only to black controlled charities working for the benefit of the black community.

(11) We demand that all monies expended for political campaigns by the U.A.W. be turned over to the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the Black United Front for black controlled and directed political work.

(12) We demand that the U.A.W. end its collusion with the C.I.A., the F.B.I. and all other white racist spy institutions.

(13) We demand that the U.A.W. end all interference in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the black community. That community and the black workers in it are to exercise self determination in all political, economic, social and cultural activities and are to use black contributed union funds in any such activities. This means that the U.A.W. end its affiliation with MDCDA, New Detroit, and other such programs and place all administration authority and funds in the hands of the black community.

(14) We demand an end to the harassment of black revolutionists and their leaders by the auto companies with U.A.W. Cooperation.

(15) We demand that the U.A.W. use its political and strike powers to call a general strike to demand immediate:

a. An end to the Vietnam war and withdrawal of all American troops.

b. An immediate end to all taxes imposed upon workers.

c. Increases in profit and industrial property taxes to make up the difference.

d. Reallocation of all Federal monies spent on defense to meet the pressing needs of the black and poor populations of America. The League is calling for all concerned black people to support and participate in this action.

There are several things you can do to help:

1. Lend your name to the list of supporters of the Nov. 9 action.
2. Have your organization endorse the demonstration and encourage members to support.
3. Help publicize the demonstration by passing out literature, word of mouth, announcements at meetings, etc.
4. Come out on Nov. 9th and bring as many people as you can. A brother from the League will contact you soon to get your signature on a support petition. In the meantime call us at the League office 865-8184 for more information.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers
November 1969

Appendix B-5

The Ten Point Platforms of the Black Panther Party

December 1969

1. We want freedom. We want the power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black community.
4. We want descent housing fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an educator that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.
6. We want all black men exempt from the military service.
7. We want an immediate end to the police brutality and murder of Black people.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, and county prisons and jails.
9. We want all Black people, when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace and as our major political objective a United Nation supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the propose of determining the will of the Black people as to their national destiny.

Appendix B-6

Basic Tenets of Revolutionary Nationalism

Mojo Group
December 1969

1) The right to self-determination is an inherent right of all nations.

2) African-Americans constitute an internal colony of the United States, an oppressed nation situated within the boundaries of the oppressing nation, white America.

3) The struggle for African-American liberation is therefore divided into two main stages: the survival and national liberation of the black colony (for land and self-government), and the establishment of *communalism*, of a black communal society where exploitation of man by man is completely eliminated.

4) For the black captive nation, ?race? exploitation has always superseded class exploitation as a general rule; therefore, within the first stage of struggle, the national struggle must superseded the class struggle, and all efforts directed internally should be primarily geared towards the UNITY of all African-Americans, not unity for its own sake, but for the necessity of survival and national liberation of black people.

5) The best way for African-Americans to fight for a true internationalism is through their struggle for national liberation; not as abstract or banal ?universalists? who would subordinate our struggle to any greater ones which have yet to merit such a gesture, but as concrete internationalists whose effectiveness derives from the placing of the content of revolutionary

internationalism with the form of national struggle.

6) The African-American struggle is intimately tied to the struggles of the Third World against imperialism; no people of color will be free to determine their own destiny until all people of color are free.

7) The ties of African-Americans to the mother continent of Africa are therefore manifested not only in the cultural sphere, in the ancestral roots of our ancient heritage, but in the political sphere as well, in the form of a revolutionary anti-imperialist stance expressed in common struggle against a common enemy.

8) In revolutionary struggle the place of culture is no less important than that of politics and economics-one must give equal attention to all three areas, with politics furnishing the guiding light; to preserve black culture, one must fight for the existence of the black nation.

9) The liberation of Black America and the establishment of a revolutionary black nation-state is only conceivable within the context of total democracy, i.e., *socialism*, existing throughout the entire country.

10) The role of white workers and white radical intellectuals inside the united states is two-fold: to give unconditional support to the just demands of African-Americans for national liberation; to struggle for revolutionary socialism: the elimination of exploitation of man by man and the establishment of a true humanism.

11) With the failure of the forces of Labor to achieve power in the West during the first half of this century, the primary motive force of world history at this juncture has shifted to the peoples of color in the colonies and former colonies and their struggles of liberation directed against western imperialism.

12) Nevertheless, with respect to the international contradiction, Capital-labor, the forces of Labor will, through revolutionary strategy and tactics consistent with the peculiar characteristics of its condition, ultimately prevail over the forces of Capital.

13) As an internal colony situated within the most powerful imperialist force in history: the United States, African-Americans and their allies have a key strategic role to play in the approaching world-wide revolution; the defeat of imperialism at its very source.

14.) With the consolidation of her revolution, Black America has the international duty to both morally and materially aid her brothers and sisters of the "Third World" in the building of a better life for the majority of humanity.

Appendix B-7

Notes on Organizational Forms and Social Movement

In order to approach the question of what organizational forms are viable at this point in the history of our movement so that an appraisal can be made of what we are doing as activists in our local areas, a few preliminary remarks concerning the objective basis of social movement are in order.

Social movement is driven forward by large groupings of people who are placed in opposition to other large groupings of people with respect to how production is carried out in a given society struggling to maintain or to transform their relationship to each other and to the production processes itself. At a certain point in the sharpening of this opposition human consciousness enters into this objective process and as a result conscious and deliberate organizational forms may emerge. Social movement is, therefore, in the final analysis human beings consciously moving to transform their social reality.

At any given time social movement may be readily noticeable because it is in a period of rapid and conspicuous change and at other times it may not be so apparent because it may be in a lull or a period of relative inactivity. The Vietnamese revolutionary leadership refer to these periods of varying mass activity and mass self-movement as periods of "high" and "low" tides, respectively.

A clear understanding of these things are important because we will not be able to do justice to a critical analysis of organizational forms and techniques unless we possess a thorough knowledge concerning the general character of how society is driven from one stage in its development to the next. In order to gain this clarity serious consideration has been given to such specific interrelated questions as; what period of development is the social movement under study in, with respect to itself? What stage of polarity are the production relationships within the society in general in? How is the uneven development within this polarity affecting emerging organizational

form? What forces are at play? And finally, what potential do these forces have for organization and self-organization at any given time? These are some of the most central questions that must be approached. But in a larger sense, it should be kept in mind that these questions should be looked at with the fundamental understanding that organizational forms emerge and die with the ebb and flow of social movement itself.

Organizations emerge as a consequence of social movement and are themselves part of the social movement from which they spring. They live or die based upon whether or not their development coincides with the development of the social movement from which they draw their life' blood. No organization is immuned from the effects of the laws governing its existence. Organizations are neither sacred or sacrosanct. They are natural not supernatural. Therefore, one of the most central questions regarding any organizational form is; does its form and content reflect accurately the period in which the social movement of which it is a part find itself. Historical movement as a consequence of its activity is, then, the final criterion of the effectiveness of any organizational form. More sharply then, the key to revolutionary creativity is to know how and when to apply to natural historical movement the organizational formula appropriate to suit the political situation and to accomplish the desired objective at each stage within a particular movement.

This particular presentation represents an argument for the encouragement of the establishment of independent local cadre developing collectives which see as its purpose practical work on local issues and within social units wherever our people are, *particularly primary units of production*, as well as constant, systematic study and evaluation of its style of work. These collectives should be developing and publicly articulating a Pan-African Nationalist line locally, nationally and internationally which represents conscious formulations based upon concrete and programmatic practice. They should takepositions on issues, work with those groups with whom they agree politically, in order to accomplish specific objectives. Cadre in the local collectives should sit down with any individual or group of their choosing and exchange ideas about their successes and failures, as

well as the way that they see the struggle for "National Independence" and/or "socialism" developing with a view toward encouraging work and organization on the part of others. Collectives should be consequently criticizing, politically, their work as cadre individually working within the collective as well as the organizational form and technique of the collective as a whole. They should be evaluating the performance of other organizations and cadre within the context of the specific task undertaken jointly. This is an objective process that will serve as a basis for establishing principled alliances and coalitions. It would also coincide with what would reflect our understanding that the creation of a national front or what ever national organizational form that emerges. This will, of course, be the result of an unevenly developing objective process and is not an event that occurs by calling together friends and acquaintances from previous stages in our struggle or sending out call letters from dated mailing lists to the founding convention of the first national this or the first national that. Following the latter approach represents petit-bourgeois "get rich quickism" translated into quasi-revolutionary terms within our ranks and for that reason it will be doomed to repeated failure.

Organizational forms emerge and should be firmly anchored solidly in revolutionary principles and the organic social movement itself. They emerge as a consequence of movement. They do not emerge and then create a reason for their existence.

It would, therefore, seem that the type of approach that has been outlined above would correspond with the development of the type of social movement that we are part of. While there is a great deal of uniformity between local struggle the process is still uneven an maximum flexibility is necessary at the local level. It should also be kept in mind that the objective basis for the uneven political development of people nationally rest in the uneven development of our national struggle.

There are however, some tasks that need to be done and are taking place nationally in this period. Significant activist work is taking place around African Liberation Support. Significant Anti Repression work is taking place. Significant struggle is taking place using electoral politics. Through work on specific issues and the study of what it is

that we are doing mature cadre will be developed, principled alliances and coalitions will be forged and by this process our movement will cleanse itself and sharpen its ideological prospective. Specifically, in this manner subjectivism, authoritarianism, personal and organizational chauvinism, excessive bureaucracy, anarchy, paranoia, liberalism, contempt for the capacity of the masses, general idealism, and political and ideological underdevelopment, which are deadly evils within any revolutionary organizational form, can be defeated in the crucible of both internal and external struggle. By this process we will learn to take advantage of the high tides. We will learn to finesse the low tides so that the self-movement and the self-organizations of the masses will be participated in by conscious cadre who understand this process and are able to drive the movement of our people forward. But again, and most importantly, any national organizational forms that will emerge will be based upon the imperatives of our movement and will only be sustained at that point in history where the contradictions in the society are such that they have a principled reason for their existence.

Modibo Kadalie - Detroit- July, 1970 (Remarks to activist cadre)

Appendix B-8

"Wherever death may surprise us, it will be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, reach some receptive ear, that another hand stretch out to take up weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory."

-Che

THE BLACK STUDENT MANIFESTO INTRODUCTION

The Black Student United Front records this year, 1971, as being one of the most repressive years in the history of the Black student struggle. Throughout Detroit, following the policies established by the racist, conservative Board of Education, >mad raving crackers" conducted a bloody campaign of violence, fear and terror against the Black students of Osborn, Fenney, etc. The conditions which we as Black students face have been absolutely intolerable. We as Black students fall victims to two of the most cannibalistic systems of oppression ever known to man. We are first victims of an economic and political system that is capitalist and imperialist which exploits each and every sector of its population. Second, we are victims of a caste system which, because of inferior education channels the masses of Black students to the lowest paying, dirtiest jobs in society. At this point in time it is clear to us that we are not in a position to exercise any degree of control over the basic educational institutions in which we find ourselves victims of. We maintain that the high rate of repression, the overt and covert practices of racism, the outrageous soar in drug traffic and the deterioration physical conditions of our schools and communities are a direct result of the persons who control this society. We clearly understand that the mis-education of the Black masses are a result of the criminal control, supervision and direction of the most vulturistic ruling cliques ever known to the history of man. We furthermore understand that it

is the objective conditions that we as Black oppressed people face in general and Black students in specific that makes the drafting of this historical document an absolute necessity.

The reasons for the drafting of this historical document, "Black Student Manifesto" are many. We, the members of the Executive Board of the city-wide B.S.U.F. See the drafting of this document to be key and essential to the development of our struggle. In the past, Black student movements have seen fit to adopt the attitude that our struggle has been that of an isolated one, that our struggle restricted itself to isolated schools and had no relationship with the struggles of other students at other schools and other persons who are not classified as students. Many Black students have also held on to the illusion that the struggle waged by our parents in the factories, hospitals and other places of employment across the city, state and nation aren't related to the struggle of Black students and as a result, we have failed to publicize and support them in their movements.For too long we have carried an unrealistic attitude that our long range goal was to seek "quality education."

We as students, should continue to push forward in search for "quality education but not as a long range goal. It is clear that our long range goal is that of power for the masses of Black and other oppressed people under the leadership of the most advanced sector of the population; the Black working class. We should understand that our present classification "student", is only temporary and that in reality the Black student is a member of the Black working class. We should furthermore understand that the roots of the Black student struggle are imbedded in the Black working class struggle and most importantly that the character of the workers struggle is revolutionary in essence. We should and will adopt the principles of the most advanced revolutionary sector of the working class, the "Black Working class", and we should and will adopt them as if they were our own!

Black students have responded to the many problems that face this

society. We have spoken out against the question of landlords illegally maintaining dangerous housing and charging exorbitant rents. We have supported the question of jobs for adults and youth throughout the community. We have spoke out time and time again against criminal activities in local government, state government and national government such as the unjust Viet- Nam War, American corporate involvement in racist South Africa and the United States ruthless, domestic practices against its non-white populace. We have involved ourselves in all types of activities only to lose sight of our overall objectives and goals. We should understand that all the activity that we involve ourselves in must ultimately lead to the accomplishment of revolutionary objectives. We know that our children's children will never be or enjoy the organizing at the individual school in which they found themselves victims. Not organizing because the issues were not "revolutionary" or not involving the "picking up of the gun", or were not designed to "seizing land" at a specific geographic location to develop a nation. We understand that strange thoughts

We further understand, that the reasons for our lack of being able to mobilize the masses of students also speaks to the lack of an educational appartus that we neither have input in or control of. We therefore encourage all the brothers and sisters whom recognize that the real enemy of Black people to be that of imperialism, racism and capitalism to adopt this document as their own, join us in the waging of a relentless struggle against these reactionary forces; imperialism. With the understanding that all of our organizational activities lead to the ultimate victory over oppression and that ALL ROADS MUST LEAD TO REVOLUTION!

GENERAL CONDITIONS

We as Black students have faced historically the same problems which inflicted our parents and their parents. We have never seen the importance or completed the task of constructing an organization todestroy the intolerable conditions we face on a day to day level.

We as students shall soon be forced to slave under the most inhuman conditions in the plants and in industry in general where safety regulations are almost unheard of. We shall soon be forced to work in the lowest positions throughout industry. We shall soon do the work that 3 machines are designed to do and in turn receive the smallest amount of wages that barely enables us to return to the same intolerable conditions week to week.

IN OUR COMMUNITY

Our parents pay the highest amount of the rent for the lowest quality housing. We become victims of police brutality, organized crime, hard narcotics, and judicial injustice along with mental genocide. We are constantly told to stay in school and get a "good education" so that we can get "good jobs" then hopefully the conditions we are faced with will change. But we are faced with the cold reality, the objective reality, that the conditions have not changed and it is clear to us that they aren't going to change until we seize control of the institutions and instruments which relegate our lives. Until we remove the seven men whom exercise control over all the schools in the State-the State Board of Education and their racist lackies the Drachlers, the McDonalds and the Wolfes. We must develop a programmatic plan of action that shall put an immediate end to 12th grade students graduating with a 6th grade reading level from Northern, Central, Northwestern and all the other predominately Black High Schools in this city. We must rid our schools of the rank smell of urine, smoke and death. We must build a Black student movement that will work in conjunction with Black workers to construct an apparatus that shall discontinue to use the educational system in America to serve as garbage baskets to meeting the profit-mongerings of industry. We must put a stop to an educational system that develops semi-literate and illiterate products in industry, under the most inhumane conditions known to man in his development. To make matters simple, we as Black students, Black factory workers, Black teachers, Black

administrators, Black nurses, Black anything don't own a single thing equal to owning the basic means of productions in this country. We only work for them. So in the final analysis what we question is the way and the means that this society chooses to organize itself, that being in an imperialistic, capitalistic, racist fashion. We question the entire manner in which wealth is distributed in this country and we shall organize ourselves to defeat the organization of this society, to defeat imperialism, capitalism and both racism and it's running dog, Uncle Tomism. Our plight is powerlessness and our solution is total control.

We understand that the process we speak of shall not develop overnight so for immediate action we set-forth as a means of organizing the masses of our brothers and sisters the following:

1) Programmatic Demands
2) General Demands
3) Specific Demands

BLACK STUDENT DEMANDS

PROGRAMMATIC DEMAND

PROGRAMMATIC DEMAND ON INDUSTRY:

1). We demand that because of the function of the educational system in America to supply a cheap, uneducated, unskilled labor force, that Industry (i.e. General Motors, Chrysler, Ford, etc.) give a sum of 10,000,000.00 dollars to the Detroit Board of Education. And that because of the racist, oppressive, and exploitative practices of the Board of Education the monies be sent by way of the INTERNATIONAL BLACK APPEAL for the purposes of raising the academic standards of the educational system in Detroit.

2). We demand that there be a complete withdrawal of corporate involvement in schools. An immediate end to the different programs that are designed to further the oppression of Black students as

personified by the programs of Chrysler Corp. At the Northwestern, Michigan Bell Telephone at Northern, and all other programs which act to decrease the acceleration of Black students. Until there is a complete investigation as to the effect, the purpose, and the operation of the Corp. Movement in schools. And further that the Board of Education adopt the findings and resolutions of this investigation from the members of our community, the Black community. And furthermore that this investigation be made with the presence of the city-wide Black Student United Front.

That in order to discontinue the educational crisis existing at all predominately Black Schools (high drop out rate, low academic achievement and reading level, general unconcern for education by Black students), a Black studies curriculum be instituted in these schools consisting of not only Black History but of such courses as Afro-American Literature, Political Education, etc.

That the Black Nationalist Flag of Unity be displayed at all Black Schools. Through-out the years, Black youth have been forced to pledge allegiance to a flag that did not and does not guarantee Blacks constitutional rights, protection, liberty, justice and equality under the law. Yet we have died defending the principles for which the American flag is supposed to stand for. Although we do not demand the removal of the American flag, we do demand the right to display the Black flag.

Removal of all police both public and private from the premises of all schools and they be replaced by trained and discipline student security patrol. Either a school is going to be a school, an institution of learning or a jail with armed guards patrolling it. It may be pointed out that to have police even around a school in the suburbs or fringe areas (white schools) would be unheard of!!!. On the question of student security patrol, it was felt that students better that the Detroit Police Department.

A student Community Review Board be created with the powers to act, intervene and DECIDE on all matters affecting both students and schools. The Black community is the best judge of priorities for their own people. Residents who are affected DIRECTLY by condition in school will be the most capable to tell and direct the

necessary change.

NORTHERN HIGH

1). We demand that Assistant Principals Leach and Russell be removed instantly from Northern High School. Russell and Leach are directly responsible for the daily student harassment and suspensions at Northern under the name of returning "order" and the educational process. While Leach and Russell have been so busy campaigning against the student body, they have not found time to attack the REAL problems of Northern High such as: unsanitary lavatories, inadequate and outmoded school facilities, poor physical condition of the school, >hard narcotic traffic? and use in Northern, low academic student achievement, etc. We also demand that the new administration of Northern be accountable to the community and students to achieve this; the Parent-Teachers-Student-Association, Concerned Parents of Northern High, B.S.U.F. and the Student Council of Northern select the new Administration.

2). That the library of Northern High be filled with an abundance of books dealing with the Black experience and true Black history also that a room in Northern be set aside which will be named the Malcolm X reading room and all supplies be orientated to Black students.

3). That Northern be re-named H. Rap Brown High. In renaming the school after H. Rap Brown, we will be paying our respects to a brother who has fought, lived and is presently missing or dead because of his relentless and untiring struggle to organize Black people for liberation from racist America. Many Detroit schools have been named after white or Negro Americans.

PROGRAMMATIC DEMANDS ON EDUCATION:

1). We demand that there be set aside a day entitled AFRO-

AMERICAN DAY to honor the people of color whom have contributed to the development of our history. That the organization to be consulted in the organization of such a day, and the organization to organize the activities be the Black Student Unite Front. This day must be annual.

2). We demand that monthly forums be held in the Stevenson Building for the benefit of the entire community in general and Black Students in particular. In orderthat controversial subjects be presented to a large number of people on a larger base. These forums must be conducted under the direction of the BLACK STUDENT CONGRESS. And that the privileges of forums be extended on the individual school level twice a month again under the direction of the Black Student Congress., at predominately Black schools.

3). We demand that the BLACK STUDENT UNITED FRONT be a recognized official organization in the school system and that the same rights and privileges be extended to the B.S.U.F. that presently are given to other recognized school organizations.

GENERAL DEMANDS

The ROTC be completely abolished and military program relevant to the needs of Black Students and Community be set up named the Black Youth Liberation Movement. Black people have fought in all of Americas barbaric and vicious wars against the colored people of this planet. The indoctrination of Black youth into the armed services of America is another genocidal act by this government! ! !

Total amnesty be given to ALL STUDENTS who become involved in any actions that may arise from the presentation of these demands. Any movement must protect it's people if it hopes to survive. Resistance to change by the Board of Mis-Education and local school

administration often take form of suspension or even criminal arrests. The demand for amnesty in no more than an effort to protect those who are willing to take a stand on Black Students issues. In the light of this country's reaction to any form of youth militancy a demand for amnesty is of the utmost importance! ! !

An overall modernization (fixing-up) of all Black Schools, i.e. lunchroom facilities be improved, classrooms, gyms, swimming pools, etc. The demand for fixing up these schools is no more than an attempt to remind the racist Board of Mis-Education of their responsibilities to properly maintain the appearance of our schools. The physical environment in which a student is set also plays an important factor in academic achievement.

That various forums be held twice a month where workshops can be sat up to supplement our present subjects. These forums are to have various speakers form/representing various political, social and cultural organizations in Detroit, ex. BSUF-City-Wide, League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Republic of New Africa, etc.

SPECIFIC DEMANDS

CASS TECH HIGH

1). Establishment of a permanent student information center which would be instituted and run by the students.

2). We are demanding that a ninth grade be implemented at Cass and that they have the opportunity to choose at least three electives in each half semester so that they will have a better perspective on the Cass curriculums. We are demanding that all curriculums be made more flexible to allow a student in that curriculum more electives.

3). We demand that Board stop trying to destroy Cass. Thus we demand that the Board of Education issue a clear statement of policy

concerning the future of Cass Tech. Specifically, that Cass Tech is to be maintained as a non-district, specialized high school for the student of interest, talent and ability.

MALCOLM X (Northwestern) HIGH

1). We demand that the name of our school be changed from its present name, Northwestern, Senior High School to MALCOLM X Senior High School.

2). We demand that the Building "C" in the new complex be completely finished immediately. The other building only effects the vocational standards of the schools and does little or nothing to raise the academic level of the school. When the Bd. of Education says that they cannot complete Building "C", this simply means that they are not concerned about the academic level of Malcolm X (which in reality reflects the racist nature of America itself!)

4). We demand the right to distribute the official organ of the Black Student United Front, the BLACK STUDENT VOICE. We demand an immediate end to the harassment and intimidation on the part of any school official or "Public servant", on the distributors of the Black Student Voice.

5). We demand that the Stevenson Building be used annually to hold a Black student congress or convention.

6). We demand that students who find themselves in a situation whereby they comprise a minority in student population and have been subjected to violent attacks by members of the white community be immediately removed and sent to a school predominately Black, where we as the Black community will insure their safety.

7). We demand that the monies received by the Board of Education

only be accepted on the conditions that the direct result of such grants, loans, gifts; raise the academic level of the school system. And that the remaining monies received from the Rockefeller Foundation from a grant accepted August 25, 1970 in an official meeting of the Board of Education in the amount of 32,400.00 dollars be reallocated in order to raise the overall educational standards in the school system of Detroit.

Racist, anti-union, anti-communist propaganda is installed in our curriculum textbooks and teachers. This must be stopped immediately. Students should be able to study from books free of the racism that characterizes and dominate our daily lives. This same racism has been institutionalized in the present Trade Unions (as a result Revolutionary Workers Unions have arisen to combat the evils of racism and the exploitation of Workers by the owners of the means of production). Further more Black people are now fighting in Vietnam as a direct result of anti-communism literature. Black Students should have a chance to be exposed to these elements in which this government are drafting them to fight the colored oppressed people of this planet.

There must be real Community control of our schools. No majority white people should control regional and central boards over a majority Black Students. To counteract racist tendencies, all districts with 10% or more Black Students should control at least 50% representation on the community Boards. This way sensitivity to special problems of Black Student and relentless struggles against racism can be guaranteed.

Dope is used as a weapon against young people, to pacify and stagnate their minds. ALL Students must be made aware of why there is so much Dope present in their communities and how it is used against them. WE DEMAND THAT A DRUG EDUCATION CLASS BE SET UP IN ALL SCHOOLS TO MAKE STUDENTS AWARE OF THE TRUE NATURE OF DRUGS IN OUR COMMUNITY! ! ! These classes should be taught by the students peers via the Black Student United Front.

COOLEY HIGH

1). That Abe (Lincoln) Eliwotz be removed from the Detroit public school system. This racist, vicious, sadistic man must be removed completely from our school system, so that no other student will become a victim of his savage and barbaric harassment. This reflects the racism in the administration for allowing this fool to remain in our school after he attacked one of our brothers last May.

2). That Asst. Prin. Dupree be removed immediately. Because of his lack of independence (he's subordinate to our racist principal, i.e. an Uncle Tom! ! !) Our position on Prin. NITTWITT (Minkwik) has not been resolved yet. He is to be replaced by a young Black man who(is) dedicated to the uplifting of Black students' education.

MUMFORD HIGH

1). Career assemblies are to be held on a regular basis using resource personnel from business, industry, trades and colleges.

2). We demand that teachers and counselors not be removed from our school because of financial cut-backs or decrease in the student population.

Appendix B-9

The National Black Political Convention took place from March 10-12, 1972 in Gary, Indiana

THE GARY DECLARATION: BLACK POLITICS AT THE CROSSROADS

What Time Is It?

We come to Gary in an hour of great crisis and tremendous promise for Black America. While the white nation hovers on the brink of chaos, while its politicians offer no hope of real change, we stand on the edge of history and are faced with an amazing and frightening choice: We may choose in 1972 to slip back into the decadent white politics of American life, or we may press forward, moving relentlessly from Gary to the creation of our own black life. The choice is large, but the time is very short.

Let there be no mistake. We come to Gary in a time of unrelieved crisis for our people. From every rural community in Alabama tot e high-rise compounds of Chicago, we bring to this convention the agonies of the masses of our people. From the sprawling black cities of Watts and Nairobi in the west to the decay of Harlem and Roxbury in the East, the testimony we bear is the same. We are witnesses to social disaster. Our cities are crime-haunted dying grounds. Huge sectors of our youth—and countless others—face permanent unemployment. Those of us who work find our paychecks able to purchase less and less. Neither the courts nor the prisons contribute to anything resembling justice or reformation. The schools are unable—or unwilling—to educate our children for the real world of our struggles. Meanwhile, the officially approved epidemic of drugs threatens to wipe out the minds and strength of our best young warriors.

Economic, cultural, and spiritual depression stalk Black America, and the price for survival often appears to be more than we are able to pay. On every side, in every area of our lives, the American

institutions in which we have placed our trust are unable to cope with the crises they have created by their single-minded dedication to profits for some and white supremacy above all.

And beyond these shores there is more of the same. For while we are pressed down under all the dying weight of a bloated, inwardly decaying white civilization, many of our brothers in Africa and the rest of the Third World have fallen prey to the same powers of exploitation and deceit. Wherever America faces the unorganized, politically powerless forces of the non-white world, its goal is domination by any means necessary—as if to hide from itself the crumbling of its own systems of life and work.

But Americans cannot hide. They can run to China and the moon and to the edges of consciousness, but they cannot hide. The crises we face as black people are the crises of the entire society. They go deep, to the very bones and marrow, to the essential nature of America's economic, political, and cultural systems. They are the natural end-product of a society built on the twin foundations of white racism and white capitalism.

So, let it be clear to us now: The desperation of our people, the agonies of our cities, the desolation of our countryside, the pollution of the air and the water—these things will not be significantly affected by new faces in the old places in Washington, D.C. This is the truth we must face here in Gary if we are to join our people everywhere in the movement forward toward liberation.

White Realities, Black Choice

A black political convention, indeed all truly black politics must begin from this truth: *The American system does not work for the masses of our people, and it cannot be made to work without radical, fundamental change.* (Indeed, this system does not really work in favor of the humanity of anyone in America.)

In the light of such realities, we come to Gary and are confronted with a choice. Will we believe the truth that history presses into our face—or will we, too, try to hide? Will the small favors some of us have received blind us to the larger sufferings of our people, or

open our eyes to the testimony of our history in America?

For more than a century we have followed the path of politicaldependence on white men and their systems. From the Liberty Party in the decades before the Civil Ware, to the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, we trusted in white men and white politics as our deliverers. Sixty years ago, W. E. B. Dubois, said he would give Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats their "last chance" to prove their sincere commitment to equality for black people—and he was given white riots and official segregation in peace and in war.

Nevertheless, some twenty years later, we became Democrats in the name of Franklin Roosevelt, then supported his successor Harry Truman, and even tried a "non-partisan" Republican General of the Army named Eisenhower. We were wooed like many others by the superficial liberalism of John F. Kennedy and the make-believe populism of Lyndon Johnson. Let there be no more of that.

Here at Gary, let us never forget the while the times and the names and the party have continually changed, one truth has faced us insistently, never changing: Both parties have betrayed us whenever their interests conflicted with ours (which was most of the time), and whenever our forces were unorganized and dependent, quiescent and compliant. Nor should this be surprising, for by now we must know that the American political system, like all other white institutions in America, was designed to operate for the benefit of the white race: It was never meant to do anything else.

That is the truth that we must face at Gary. If white "liberalism" could have solved our problems, then Lincoln and Roosevelt and Kennedy would have done so. But they did not solve ours nor the rest of the nation's. If America's problems could have been solved by forceful, politically skilled and aggressive individuals, Lyndon Johnson would have retained the presidency. If the true "American Way" of unbridled monopoly capitalism, combined with a ruthless military imperialism could do it, the Nixon would not be running in panic around the world, or making speeches comparing his nation's decadence to that of Greece and Rome.

If we have never faced it before, let us face it at Gary: The profound crisis of black people and the disaster of America are not

simply caused by men, nor will they be solved by men alone. These crises are the crises of basically flawed economics and politics, and of cultural degradation. None of the Democratic candidates and none of the Republican candidates—regardless of their vague promises to us or to their white constituencies—can solve our problems or the problems of this country without radically changing the systems by which it operates.

The Politics of Social Transformation

So we come to Gary confronted with a choice. But it is not the old convention question of which candidate shall we support, the pointless question of who is to preside over a decaying and unsalvageable system. No, if we come to Gary out of the realities of the black communities of this land, then the only real choice for us is whether or not we will live by the truth we know, whether we will move to organize independently, move to struggle for fundamental transformation, for the creation of new directions, towards a concern for the life and the meaning of Man. Social transformation or social destruction, those are our only real choices.

If we come to Gary on behalf of our people in America, in the rest of this hemisphere, and in the Homeland—if we have come for our own best ambitions—then a new Black Politics must come to birth. If we are serious, the Black Politics of Gary must be geared to carry us far beyond the elections of 1972. That Black Politics must accept major responsibility for creating both the atmosphere and the program for fundamental, far-ranging change in America. Such responsibility is ours because it is our people who are most deeply hurt and ravaged by the present systems of society. That responsibility for leading the change is ours because we live in a society where few other men really believe in the possibility of a truly humane society for anyone anywhere.

The challenge is thrown to us here in Gary. *It is the challenge to consolidate and organize our own black role as the vanguard in the struggle for a new society.* To accept the challenge is to move to independent black politics. There can be no equivocation on that issue. History leaves

us no other choice. White politics has not and cannot bring the changes we need.

We come to Gary and are faced with a challenge. The challenge is to transform ourselves from favor—seeking vassals and loud-talking, "militant" pawns, and to take up the role that the unorganized masses of our people have attempted to play ever since we came to these shores, that of harbingers of true justice and humanity, leaders in the struggle liberation.

A major part of the challenge we must accept is that of redefining the functions and operations of all levels of American government, for the existing governing structures—from Washington to the smallest county—are obsolescent. That is part of the reason why nothing works and why corruption rages throughout public life. For white politics seeks not to serve but to dominate and manipulate.

Our Time and Challenge Is Now

We will have joined the true movement of history if at Gary we grasp the opportunity to press Man forward as the first consideration of politics. Here at Gary we are faithful to the best hopes of our fathers and our people if we move for nothing less than a politics which places community before individualism, love before sexual exploitation, a living environment before profits, peace before war, justice before unjust "order," and morality before expediency.

This is the society we need, but we delude ourselves here at Gray if we think that change can be achieved without organizing the power, the determined national black power, which is necessary to insist upon such change, to create such change, to seize such change.

So when we turn to a Black Agenda for the seventies, we move in the truth of history, in the reality of the moment. We move recognizing that no one else is going to represent our interests but ourselves. *The society we seek cannot come unless Black people organize to advance its coming.* We lift up a Black Agenda recognizing that white America moves towards the abyss created by its own racist arrogance, misplaced priorities, rampant materialism, and ethical bankruptcy. Therefore we are certain that the Agenda we now press for in Gary is

not only for the future of black humanity, but is probably the only way that the rest of America can serve itself from the harvest of its criminal past.

So, brothers and sisters of our developing black nation, we now stand at Gary as a people whose time has come. From every corner of Black America, from all liberation movements of the Third World, from the graves of our fathers and the coming world of our children, we are faced with a challenge and a call: Though the moment is perilous we must not despair. We must seize the time, for the time is ours.

We begin here and now in Gary. We begin with an independent black political movement, and independent black political Agenda, an independent black spirit. Nothing less will do. We must build for our people. We must build for our world. We stand on the edge of history. We cannot turn back.

The National Black Political Convention
March 10-12, 1972 in Gary, Indiana

Appendix B-10

DRAFT DOCUMENT- FOR THE NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION

OUTLINE FOR A BLACK AGENDA /PLATFORM

Premises

The Black Agenda is a preliminary step towards a black analysis of the black and white predicament in America. It points toward a black vision of fundamental social change for America—both within and outside its own borders. The intent of this outline is to suggest some of the major changes we need to begin to eliminate racism and exploitation from American life. The basic assumption which informs the document is that such radical change cannot take place until the institutional framework of American society is fundamentally transformed.

History offers us no hope that America will voluntarily change her ways. Thus we must prepare ourselves more seriously than ever before for the long struggle to reconstruct the society. One part of the preparation is a sense of common black goals and purposes—some minimal agreement on the things we need to move us forward in the struggle for a new humanity.

That is why we propose an outline towards a Black Agenda. That is why we must amass the black political power to realize our own Agenda. There is no other road for us to take.

The white agenda has failed. White solutions have failed. White leadership and its policies have failed. America and its "best minds" have failed to create a new and humane society. How then can we be expected to follow such white pathways to destruction?

The outline for a Black Agenda that follows is obviously not a finished program. It consists rather of suggestions towards principles and ideas, a starting point for discussion among us on the nature and structure of that change which is necessary to solve our problems. It

is a sense of direction, not a solution. It assumes, first of all, that every conventional American sense of priorities must be overturned. It assumes that the overwhelming weight of national skills, funds and personnel must be pressed away from space, militarism, imperialism and repression to the creation of new, humane, social, economic and environmental realities.

Some will raise the objection that we cannot bring about such changes on our own. Perhaps. But this much we know: going on our own can hardly be any worse than what we have experienced through more than a century of going with white racist leadership.

At any rate, whether we carry the banner of radical change alone or not is finally not up to us. It is up to the so-called progressive elements of the rest of this society. If they are serious, if they know what time it is, then they will join with us in the struggle for what must be done. If they are not serious, why do we mourn their loss? Why should we trim our sails to match their cowardice?

Whatever others may do, we must see Gary as a sign that our only future, our only real gains are those which our powerful black determination create and consolidate.

So let us turn to the task.

Outline for a Black Agenda

Black people need these things. We must organize to get them. We must press others to work for them. We must not be satisfied with anything less.

IN 1972 AND BEYOND, BLACK PEOPLE NEED THESE THINGS. WE MUST ORGANIZE TO GET THEM:

1. A national constitutional convention for the entire American nation within the next 12 months. Many of the structures of anti-Black racist control are built into the present Constitution.

It must be changed.

2. The establishment of Black Congressional representation in proportion to our presence in the national population. We are at least 15 per cent of the population. Through constitutional amendment—or any other means necessary—we ought to have at least 66 Representative and 15 Senators.

3. Proportionate Black employment and control at every level of the federal governmental structures, including the federal commissions and the highest level White House staff.

4. An Executive Order to end all gerrymandering across the nation. Gerrymandering is used to destroy Black political power. It must not continue.

5. A permanent voting rights act, with registration based solely on age and residency. One man, one vote.

6. Home rule for the District of Columbia. A Black majority in the nation's capital is now controlled by a white-dominated Congressional Committee and a set of Presidential appointees. We must have black self-determination in Washington, D.C.

7. The establishment of local community control over the police, the courts and the prisons, and the establishment of residency requirements for all neighborhood police forces. Our police should live where they serve. They, and all the instruments of justice, must be responsive to our needs.

Economic Empowerment

8. The abolition of income taxes for all families of four or more whose income is less that 20,000 dollars. The tax structure has been geared against this economic group that includes most black people. That injustice must be redressed.

9. A federal tax of 50 per cent on all corporation profits. The private, profit-orientation of the society must be opposed. Profits must be turned to the common social good.

10. Establishment of a National Black Development Council funded by a major share of the Black proportion of the federal tax incomes. This public Black agency would be responsible for the planning and execution of those necessary new initiatives in housing, land, schooling, jobs and health for the black community.

11. Reorganization and redefinition of the Department of Agriculture away form the control of white Southern and Southwestern agri-business interests. Creation of a well-funded black agency within the Department to work for the solution of the problems of Black rural development.

12. The creation of a new urban-based Homestead Act, partly to make use of the billions of dollars worth of urban housing projects and land now owned by the Federal government. This property must not move into private hands when there is such a drastic need for humane housing and land use where black people live.

13. Establishment of a ceiling price for rents for all families of four or more earning less than 20,000 dollars per year. The society must be responsible for making it possible for us to live in humane conditions without destroying our financial resources.

14. A national minimum wage of $2.50 per hour for all workers in all jobs. Starvation wages must end.

15. A guaranteed minimum annual income of 6,000 dollars for all families of four. Income is a right for all people in a humane society. Black people have earned more than our share already.

16. A minimum increase of 100 per cent in Social Security benefits for all persons, and the availability of full benefits at age 50. It is not right for our people, or any people, to have to fear financial insecurity after they have passed the peak years of their earning capacity.

17. The elimination of all discrimination against black people in unions and other areas of private employment, and the making of such discrimination a felony, with clear, well-staffed federal and local enforcement procedures. Black people must have apprentice positions in unions amounting to at least the proportion of the local or national population, whichever is the greatest.

18. The availability of free public transportation for all systems operating on routes of less than fifty miles. This is one way to relieve the glut of cars and to make necessary services available at the peoples' expense.

Human Development

19. National Health Insurance for all citizens from birth until death, and free medical care for all families with incomes of less than 10,000 dollars.

20. Establishment of a National Foundation for Black Education, funded from public sources, to develop and encourage national and local planning and experimentation in the creation of new models of black education at all levels. The colonial models are exhausted, and black people must control the building of the new black models and their implementation.

21. Free public education for all black people up to their highest attainable level, and special federal support for black controlled higher and pre-college education (public and non-public) at a level of at least 20 per cent of the annual expenditures in this area. Neither black individuals nor the black institutions must be allowed to languish because of inadequate educational funding. After centuries of exploitation, we are due at least this much.

22. The elimination of capital punishment for any and all crimes on a national level. Only a criminal society can afford to admit that some human beings cannot be rehabilitated, and up to now too many of these human beings have been black.

Communications

23. At least three black persons appointed to the Federal Communication Commission. The media are too important to have them operate without serious black input and monitoring.

24. The transfer of certain local and national radio and television properties (including cable TV) to Black community control, through appropriate government actions. The hiring of blacks in all print, radio and TV media in proportion to population figures. We have been the main sufferers from white racist communications and the chief creators of profitable alternatives. We must develop and control as well as create. We must tell our own story to our people.

Africa and the Third World: Overseas

25. Withdraw all American military forces from Indochina by the end of 1972, and from the rest of the Third World—especially Africa—by the end of 1973. We cannot be faithful to our

brothers in the anti-colonial struggles and still support any part of the American military presence, for that presence is always against the cause of our brother's liberation.

26. Increase economic aid to the Third World up to a total of at least one per cent of the Gross National Product, making such aid available through United Nations and other Third World-related agencies rather than unilaterally. Economic assistance must replace military and economic exploitation and oppression.

27. Withdrawal of all economic and military support from European and African-based white governments which now enforce minority white rule in Southern Africa, especially Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. No black politics can ignore the African realities. That is our Homeland.

Environmental Protection

28. Reorganization and re-mandating of the Department of the Interior to make its first priority the creation of a healthy environment, making available to it full judicial and other coercive powers of enforcement against industrial polluters. Focus major attention on inner-city urban pollution of every kind. Black people have much to lose form a befouled atmosphere and environment.

29. Establish nationally enforced limits on the production of private automobiles and the building of superhighways. In the cause of both environmental protection and economic well-being, this is necessary for all.

Special Item

30. Replace J. Edgar Hoover as Director of the FBI immediately. Raise Black staff participation to a minimum of 15 per cent at

all levels of the Bureau. Remove the FBI from political surveillance and assign it to the task of eradicating the national traffic in narcotics within three years—or be phased out of operation.

To those who say that such things are "visionary," "utopian," and "impossible," we say that the keepers of conventional white politics have always viewed our situation and our real needs as beyond the realm of their wildest imaginations. At every critical moment of our struggle in America we have had to press relentlessly against the limits of the "realistic" to create new realities for the life of our people.

This is the challenge at Gary as well, for a new Black Politics demands new vision, new hope and new definitions of the possible. Our time has come. All things are possible.

The National Black Political Convention
March 10-12, 1972 in Gary, Indiana

(This draft was presented to the General Assembly of the Convention sponsored by The Institute of the Black World, 87 Chestnut Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314,along with several other Organizations. While it enjoyed widespread support at the Convention any specific action taken regarding it is unclear.)

Appendix B-11

Sixth Pan African Congress
Temporary Secretariat
1802 Belmont Road N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009. U. S. A.
(202) 232-4135

The Congress Convened in June of 1974
The Call anticipated a June 1973 Congress

THE CALL

The 20th century is the century of Black Power. It has already been marked by two dynamics. First, a unified conception of all peoples who have been colonized. They are known by friends and enemies as members of the Third World. And the most significant members of the Third World are those who strive for power to the people and Black Power to the Black People. On the other hand, white power, which ruled unchallenged for so long during this very century, is marked by unparalleled degeneration, first by two savage and global wars such as the World had never before seen. The same mentality prepares for a third war. Its barbarism unpurged, European power strives at all cost to maintain that domination from which the formerly colonial peoples are breaking. That is the world white power seeks to maintain at a time when the colonial peoples have begun one of the greatest movements toward human freedom that the world has ever known. The SIXTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS, to be held in the United Republic of Tanzania in June, 1973, is part of that movement.

Out of the Past

We are proud to be able to call the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN

CONGRESS, for the name and the concepts within it demonstrate the continuity and acceleration of Black struggle. The first Pan African Conference, called by Sylvester Williams in 1900, appealed to the leaders of the world not to ignore the sufferings of Black people. The British government of Queen Victoria replied, "Her Majesty's government will not overlook the interests and welfare of the native races." Dr. W.E.B.DuBois, a member of that 1900 Conference, wrote " The Appeal" to the rulers of various countries. But within the Appeal could be heard the silent anger of the Black people. One sentence reads:

"In any case the modern world must needs remember that in this age, when the ends of the world are being brought so near together, the millions of black men in Africa, America and the islands of the sea, not to speak of the myriads elsewhere, are bound to have great influence upon the world in the future by reason of sheer numbers and physical contact."

Beginning immediately after World War I and continuing into the 1920's W.E.B. DuBois convened a series of conferences which were known specifically as Pan-African Congress.

In 1945 the same Dr. DuBois was invited to preside over what was to become the Fifth Pan African Congress, the famous Congress held in Manchester. Among other principal organizers were Pan Africanists in London, among them George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, Bas Makonen, Wallace Johnson, C.L.R. James and Jomo Kenyatta. At the Congress it was unanimously decided that the independence and freedom of Africans could be won only by the action of the great masses of African peoples themselves. In 1945 this seemed to be a rash and extravagant statement. But in less than twenty years it had been proved correct and had initiated one of the greatest political movements that the world has ever known.

As we in 1973 prepare the future, we have to bear in mind where we stood in Manchester in 1945, not yet thirty years ago. At that time the only existing African states were Ethopia and Liberia. The man who shattered forever the mould of colonized Africa was an African, Kwame Nkrumah. He had formed a decisive association in

1943 with Padmore, and in 1947, after twelve years of absence from his native country of the Gold Coast, Nkrumah returned home. It is said over and over again that after some years of African struggle the British government granted freedom and independence to the people of the Gold Coast. Nothing of the kind happened. That the British government granted anything was an absolute reverse of the truth.

As we prepare for the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS we must be aware that Nkrumah, out of an African people enslaved for centuries, built the first politically independent nation on the continent of Africa. He called on the youth of Ghana and others to join his party to struggle against imperialism all over the world. He ultimately challenged the local colonial government by a general strike which paralyzed the whole of the Gold Coast and showed the world that an African nation had arrived.

Nkrumah was established as the political leader of the Gold Coast in 1951, a political event of a range, depth and rapidity which until then was unknown to the world. In 1957 Ghana achieved its independence. Recognizing that the security of that independence was tied to the establishment of a meaningful independence across the continent Nkrumah in 1958 convened in April a conference of independent African states, and in December an all African peoples conference. These conferences re-affirmed the concept of African control over Africa and called for Pan African development. The all African peoples conferences in particular warned that "the existence of separate states in Africa is frought with the dangers of exposure to imperialist intrigues and of resurgence of colonialism even after their attainment of independence, unless there is unity among them". It declared as an ultimate objective a "Commonwealth of Free African States." In ten years some 50 states, North and South of the Sahara, sprung up.

Independence: Political, Economic, Social

Today Africans themselves are taking the road, whether inside or outside of Africa, to solve the problems that threaten to overwhelm human society. The struggle being waged in Guinea-Bissau, in

Mozambique, in Angola, in Guinea, demonstrates that today Africans are not seeking mere political independence. Those who are fighting today make no distinction between political independence and complete economic control.

Upon this policy, which Africans are carrying out with arms in hand, The SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS must draw a line of steel against those, Africans included, who hide behind the slogan and paraphernalia of national independence while allowing finance capital to dominate and direct their economic and social life. This is for Africans everywhere an unalterable.

We affirm that one of the immediate tasks facing us is the political freedom and self-determination, completre and absolute, of our brothers and sisters in the Southern part of Africa. No names among fighters for freedom stand higher than of those who fought at Sharpville.

The SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS must give total support to the fighters who engage the enemies of Africa in day to day struggle.

The SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS affirms to all who struggle that the only principle upon which Africa and African peoples can base their future is the concept of self-reliance. We stand with those who are avowed and open enemies of the elite who wish to lead a life of privilege among our people.

To quote Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, "We start from a full acceptance of our Africanness and a belief that in our own past there is very much which is useful for our future."

We believe that the future of Africans lies in the fullest utilization of our own human resources instead of continued dependency on loans and gifts from abroad.

SELF-RELIANCE. The word means as much to the urban as to the rural African. Self-reliance and independence are directly proportional to our ability as a people to utilize modern tools of science and technology for our liberation. *If we do not control the means of survival and protection in the context of the twentieth century we will continue to be colonized.*

The mega-machine is to a large extent at the root of the inhumanity and bestiality that saturate Western civilization. The machine, the technology, the scientific method are root causes as well

as effects of racism, colonialism, slavery, exploitation and genocide. We must begin to utilize what we have for our liberation, and for the defense of our land and our value systems. Here we begin to understand what it means to emphasize science and technology in a Pan African perspective *for we must not be trapped into being enslaved by the machine, of becoming automaton, of substituting or integrating Western civilization into our African unity.*

Pan African Center of Science and Technology

Consistent with our commitment to independence and self-reliance, the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS will pursue the development of a PAN AFRICAN SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY CENTER. The Center will be designed to serve the vast array of needs of African people in the scientific and technological fields:

It will be an educational exhibition so designed as to attract and instruct the observer to an understanding of both the geopolitics of Africa and of the geopolitical and economic position of Africans in the Americas and the Caribbean. This will be done graphically and simply with large maps, books, articles, charts, and a tour-guide adept at explaining the exhibition.
Secondly, the Center will be a locus for organizing scientific and technological expertise to assist, human and technical development of African societies.

The Center will be financed and operated by Africans from all over the world. Its staffing and its teams ofexperts will be Africans contracted from wherever we are for specific periods of time, to carry out specific tasks, solve particular problems or conduct research in areas of science and technology.

One of the Center's priorities will be the making available of human, technical and scientific resources to develop available and self-supporting agricultural system in Africa. That is to say, Africa must

feed itself. And to be relevant, agriculture has to consider every other human endeavour: economics, nutrition, medicine, transportation, communication, education, etc. Embodied in this goal is Pan-Africanism.

The center must not be viewed as a fixed structure but rather as a living concept among all African people. It is to be so designed as to be relevant to utilizing Black resources for the development of Africa for Africans at home and abroad. It is a move towards self-reliance in the Pan African perspective.

With the growing consciousness that we as a people must struggle to be free, there have emerged among us individuals and groups ready to take the lead in the achievements of Black people in a world culture, which the best minds of today know to be the inescapable future of mankind. When we look at the United States during the twentieth century, no intellectual, no organizer stands higher than W.E.B. DuBois, one of the supreme spirits of our time. We shall bear in mind and propagate the distinguished contribution to modern civilization made by Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah and Mwalimu Nyerere.

Among Africans in the diaspora, we have seen during the last decades remarkable men who show the high quality that is inherent in Africa and in all Africans today. The Caribbean islands brought forth such luminaries as Edward Blyden, Aime Cesaire (the man of Negritude), George Padmore, who organized Black people politically and is known today as "The Father of African Emancipation," and Franz Fanon, one of the most honored political thinkers of the day. With them is also the historian and political activist, C.L.R.James.

From the United States we have some of the most tremendous struggles that have developed in the world since the end of World War II. From events in Montgomery, Alabama to the present day, we have seen the unprecedented upheavals in Watts, in Cleveland, in Detroit, in Los Angeles, in Newark, all over the United States, in places known and unknown. And on the same level as the mass movement, we have seen such people as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Elijah Muhammed, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, George Jackson, and Imamu Baraka —men who, whatever their political differences, have

shown that Black people are now in the very forefront of the political activities of that country. Here is a universal pattern of rejection of Western civilization by Blacks and a successive series of credative contributions to the new society. Malcolm X, George Jackson, Angela Davis, Rap Brown, are more closely associated with the jails of the United States and not the Unversities: Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Banda and Lumumba had to be taken out of imperialist jails to govern African peoples otherwise ungovernable by the imperialists.

Our people are moving together towards the achievement of a society where the intellectual or functionary will no longer be dominant, a society in which we shall achieve more of the things which all people through all time have acknowledged to be the legitimate goals of struggle: Independence and equality.

This is the contemporary, the deeply historical significance of the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS. And we call upon you, Africans everywhere, whatever your political attitudes, if you are feeling the weight and consciousness — first of what Black people are suffering, secondly, of what we have achieved and are in the process of achieving, to come to the Congress, to give it your support, to spread the news about it, to follow whatever it is doing; so that before the end of the century, perhaps we shall take a leading part in the achieving of a society in which we can look at our children, from the very beginnings of their lives, and know they are taking a complete part in shaping the forces that touch Africa and its people.

A Call Issued during the Last Months of 1972
for A Congress to be Convened in July of 1973...
The SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS did take place
June 3-13, 1974 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, East Africa

Appendix B-12

THE JOINT DECLARATION OF THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE CARIBBEAN REVOLUTION

Issued by the
Caribbean Unity Conference
2207 14th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

The organizations of the Caribbean Revolution have noted the establishment of the Caribbean Common Market and, in consequence, make the following joint declaration:

1. The Caribbean Governments, because they have cut themselves off from the people, are tailing behind the consciousness of the broad masses of the Caribbean people.

2. The negative trends already evident in the separate members of the Common Market and CARIFTA will now become institutions on a Caribbean scale, making the whole region a hunting ground for finance capital.

3. The negative trends are the development of fascist manipulation of the population; preoccupation with the building of a falsely-shining image; economic chauvinism in practice while they talk without ceasing about integration; and the merging of foreign capital with the national economies and with the old state machines in the newly independent countries with aggressive and callous finance capital; failure to understand and combat 'refined' imperialism of U.S.A., Canada, and Britain; failure to

demand for the Caribbean and especially for the L.D.C.s, reparations from the wealthy nations which have exploited them from age to age; the major, disastrous and continuing failure of agriculture in the region; the nursing and fattening of feudal capitalism by the Government of Guyana.

4. The equating of the common external tariff of the Common Market with the c.e.t. of the Eastern Caribbean Common Market liquidates the advantages which the smaller territories have defined for themselves in an act of self-determination and self-reliance. The economic oppression of the so-called L.D.C.s is a serious blow to the real unity of the Caribbean people.

5. The Caribbean regimes within the Community are all regimes of a bourgeoisie of a special type, using state resources as a means of production. This class is recruiting and developing an armed force and a police which is the personal handyman of the elite and their hangers-on. It suppresses all those who stand for true independence, for an overthrow of the colonial society and for a socialisation of the economy and an end to imperialist penetration.

6. As witnessed by two separate police conferences in Trinidad, the Common Market has been fusing its reactionary police services under the slogan of law and order. These forces work closely with the Interpol, FBI, CIA, and the British Military INTELLIGENCE.

7. The organisations signing this declaration strongly resent the tutelage of Venezuela, which is now joining the U.S. and Britain for the acquisition of client states in the Caribbean and resent the merging of the Common Market with the Organisation of American States.

8. We fully support the declaration of Cuba that the U.S.A.

cannot be a member of a genuine Latin American anti-imperialist body and warn Cuba against trusting the neo-colonialist governments and puppet foreign ministers of thesegovernments.

9. This neo-colonial economic machine, the Common Market, oppresses the people as a whole. We declare our combined resistance to the governments and pledge our mutual support to one another.

Afro-Caribbean Movement (Antigua)
ASCRIA (Guyana)
Black Liberation Action Committee (St. Vincent)
Caribbean Unity Conference (Temporarily located in Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
National Union of Freedom Fighters (Trinidad and Tobago)
National Joint Action Committee (Trinidad and Tobago)
The New Jewel Movement (Grenada)
Ujamaa (Jamaica)
United Front Against Imperialism (Jamaica)

The Caribbean Unity Conference took place
April 21-23, 1972 at Howard University
This Joint Declaration was issued as a press release
in December of 1972

Appendix B-13

RESOLUTIONS: ESTABLISHMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

At the fifth Pan-African Congress, which convened in Manchester, England in 1945, people of African descent came together to chart out the revolutionary course (ideological perspective, strategies and tactics) to be employed by African people engaged in struggles in various geographical areas. The revolutionary forces representing trade unions, labour, cooperatives and other progressive and/or revolutionary organizations which came together were in agreement that self-government for Africa and the West Indies would be the basic objective.

In 1957, the Gold Coast Revolution, "the first victory for Pan-Africanism," ushered into existence the State of Ghana under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana, in theory, i.e. constitutionally had won its political independence.

On December 5, 1958 the all African People Conference convened in Accra, Ghana. At that particular conference the leadership of the political parties in attendance stated that they were: "Irrevocably resolved to wage a final assault upon the denial of freedom, liberty and fundamental human rights to people in Africa." They also made it absolutely clear that they were resolved: "to accelerate the liberation of Africa from Imperialism and Colonialism."

We who are in attendance at the North American Planning Conference, held at Kent State College, Kent, Ohio May 11-13, therefore, are in agreement that it is our revolutionary responsibility to deal with all questions related to "Science and Technology" within the context of waging a massive revolutionary struggle against Euro-American imperialism and capitalism and all the agents of international capitalism.

In the past we have placed a tremendous amount of emphasis upon political independence. We now see the necessity for emphasizing

the need to liberate our economics; thus pursuing Socialistic development and breaking the strange hold of international capitalism.

In most cases, no fundamental changes in either property relations on economic relations have occurred in those countries which won their political independence. The North American Planning Conference is, therefore, in agreement that at present Science and Technological development in most, if not all, of the countries which have their political independence is still being used to the detriment of the masses of African peoples. In essence science and technology is being used to perpetuate the widespread misery exploitation degradation and human slavery which is characteristic of capitalist regimes. Being cognizant of that reality, it is impossible for us (the North American Planning Conference) to discuss Science and Technology without first recognizing the revolt of the African masses; and their hostility to the capitalistic mode of production. In addition, we have to recognize that science and technology is not above the ken of the masses because it is they who are at the point of production in the copper, and diamond mines; automobile industries; sugar and coffee plantations; oil industries, etc.

This North American Planning Conference is conscious that very few industries and multi-national corporations have any hope of surviving without the manpower and skills we bring to the production and exchange process. In South Africa, for instance, black people are the most technologically advanced segment of the population. They are the people who operate the mines but they do not control and or own the mechanism of production; neither do they receive any of the profits which come from the sale of the commodities produced.

We are also conscious that countries in Africa are importing steel instead of using bamboo because the multi-national corporations are obviously dominating and actually dictating import-export policy for African states. Grapefruit juice is also being imported even though there is an abundance of grapefruit trees in Africa. Why buy processed grapefruit juice in Britain when we can go to trees which grow on our land and pick all the grapefruit we want?

Whereas, there are many contradictions and antagonisms (both internal and external) which are apparent to this North American

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Planning Conference.

Whereas, the black masses in Africa and diaspora are engaged in a daily struggle to transform modern capitalist society into a new world social order which is not based upon exploitation and oppression.

Whereas, technology and science is an important part of development and must be used to eliminate hunger, disease, poverty, and human misery in general.

Whereas, at present there is no institution in the world whose specific purpose is to facilitate the socialistic development of African peoples.

Be it resolved that the North American Planning Conference for the coming Sixth Pan-African Congress go on record for the establishment of an African Peoples' Science and Technology institute with the following goal/objectives and guidelines.

Goals/Objectives

A. To unleash the revolutionary and creative instincts of the workers and peasants.

B. To provide whatever training which might be deemed necessary to expedite and insure complete control of both the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy by the workers and peasants.

C. To facilitate socialist development in all respects of the economy so that all scientific and technological endeavours will serve the mass of the African peoples.

Whereas we, the North American Planning Conference of the Sixth Pan-African Congress understand that in order to give some

concrete form to the above goals and objectives, specific guidelines are necessary. Therefore, be it resolved that the following guidelines be instituted:

A. That people who staff the Institute be directly engaged in the production process for at lease three months of each year.

B. That salaries of staff only allow for the purchase of bare necessities in a given social context.

C. That liberation struggles and revolutionary African Peoples Governments direct the scientific and technological research and its application.

D. That workers and peasants engaged in armed struggle and/or production constitute the majority of the student and teacher population at a given time.

E. That scientific and technical classes be taught by freedom fighters and those people who are at the point of production whenever possible.

F. That social science courses be taught or led by workers, peasants, freedom fighters or persons who are chosen by fighting and/or workers and peasants' organizations, etc.

G. That the military and production needs of revolutionary fighting organizations be given priority in all research and application conducted at the Institute.

Conclusion

It is hoped that this resolution/statement will point the direction for a more revolutionary and comprehensive document

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outlining the principles and procedures for the development of an African People's Scientific Technological Institute.

(Submitted by the North American Region Planning Conference at Kent State University for adoption.)

May 12, 1973

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Introducted June 29, 1973- Frogmore, S.C.
Adopted Feburary 3, 1974, Greensboro, N.C.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
of
African Liberation Support Committee

WORLD VIEW

"If there is no struggle, there can be no progress.....

Black people throughout the world are realizing that our freedom will only be won through a protracted struggle against two forces - racism and imperialism. The world imperialist system festers in Africa and Asia and engulfs the Western Hemisphere as well. In the United States we know it as monopoly capitalism in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial form. Wherever it appears its cornerstone is the white ruling class of the United States of America.

Imperialism is neither invincible nor invulnerable. As the blows against it increase, the crisis of imperialism heightens and leads to now levels of exploitation of Black People in the Western Hemisphere, Africa and the rest of the world.

AFRICA

In Africa, the remains of classical European colonialism is held together by Portugal (in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique). The United State government has been a constant Supporter and ally

of Portuguese oppression through direct aid (such as the $430 million Azores agreement) and gifts of planes, arms, and military training (at Fort Bragg, North Carolina) through NATO. White settler rule is based in police state South Africa, and extends to Namibia (South-West Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) as well. There is hardly a single major U.S. or multinational Corporation, or bank that does not have investments in Southern Africa. Chase Manhattan Bank, Firestone Rubber and tires, Gulf Oil, Holiday Inn, General Motors and some 300 other firms have investments totalling over 1 billion dollars. Several major problems face the people of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau as a result of the present crisis:

1. Resettlement schemes to absorb unemployed European workers as new colonists in Africa; They will be expected to fight against liberation forces. An example is the Cabora Bassa Dam project in the Tete province of Mozambique, where over 1,000,000 European workers are expected to settle.

2. Increased levels of exploitation caused by the relocation of factories from advanced capitalist countries - "runaway shops." The conditions that generally accompany this new investment are no-strike laws, forced labor, slave-wages, no right-to-organize laws, and neo-fascist policies of political repression against all dissent.

3. Militaristic and aggressive expansionist policies of South Africa and Israel to recolonize "independent" Africa using capital invested by multinational corporations based in the U.S., Europe and Japan.

Western Hemisphere (U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean)

Black people in the Western Hemisphere equally caught in the racist imperialist net, also face major problems in the present state of our struggle:

1. Problems on the job-unemployment, low wages, job insecurity, racism by management and union leadership discrimination in hiring and promotions (especially in skilled crafts), and super-exploitation in the shops (speed-up, compulsory overtime, etc.)

2. Continued neglect, and indeed cutbacks in the area of

social services; public welfare, transportation, housing sanitation, health facilities, and education, etc.

3. Political-police-military repression with fascist-type hit squads (like STRESS squad was in Detroit), increased use of electronic surveillance and informers, a rising rate of Black Youth in prisons, and systematic introduction of heroin (or heroin substitutes) into the Black Communities.

4. Continued onslaughts on efforts to preserve and develop revolutionary culture among Black people, including the use of distorted fragments of Black history and the accomplishments of "distinguished Black Americans." These onslaughts are in fact cultural aggression. Cultural aggression, like all other forms of racism, seeks to impose the way of life, values and institutions of one culture on another culture. Culture here defined as a way of life, values, and those institutions set up to maintain and develop that way of life and its values.

FINALLY GOT THE NEWS

Black people throughout the world have finally got the news - the news that racism and imperialism the two headed monster - are our enemies. The major historical trends of the moment in Southern Africa can be summed up as:

1. The heightened struggle and increasing success of the liberation movements, which win new victories every day. Their struggle has been aided by the support of the Socialist countries, and by other anti-imperialist forces, especially the increasing support of progressive Black people in the United States.

2. The increasing support for the liberation movements by independent African countries, even conservative ones, through the OAU liberation Committee and by direct aid.

3. The rising desperation of the Portuguese governments in the face of liberation groups marching towards total victories in the "colonies". This desperation is reflected by the cowardly assassination of Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, on the streets of

Conakry by Portuguese agents.

4. Increased co-operation between colonial and imperialist governments especially Rhodesia, South Africa, Portugal, Israel, and the United States in these areas; first, collective military arrangements; second, the wooing of governments of certain African countries in an attempt to seduce them into "dialogue" with South Africa or otherwise breach the anti-colonial unity of Africa; third, the development of schemes to hand the Portuguese colonies over the(to) phony "independent" Black governments - in reality puppets for the Portuguese.

5. 'I'he increasing awareness of Black workers in Southern Africa who are mounting demonstrations and strikes to prove that the system of internal oppression under which they suffer can be overthrown.

The major historical trends at the present time in the United States may be summed up as follows:

1. The international crisis of capitalism has produced effects-rising market price of gold, falling value of the dollar - that has put the U.S. economy on very shakey ground; unemployment, high food prices, run away shops are a few indications of the instability of the domestic market.

2. The increasing manifestations of frustrations and anger of people in the U.S. especially Black people-battered back and forth by forces which they do not understand.

3. The exposure of corruption in government from Nixon and Halderman to Mayors Daly and Addonizio, down to the cop on the corner. People increasingly realize that this corruption is linked to control of government by large corporations and the rich in their own interests.

4. The increasing attempts by the white ruling class of the USA and their apologists, to blame many social problems on Black People: (high taxes, welfare, unemployment for white workers; inflation) .

We can clearly see that the imperialist monster has two heads-in the

Western Hemisphere and elsewhere in the world. Here we have the same duty as all progressive Black people - to fight imperialism in all its manifestations. To do this we must build an anti-racist, anti-imperialist United Front among Black people.

TOWARDS A UNITED FRONT

> "if we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each others throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes....." Kwame Nkumah

Black people throughout the world face a future of struggle to put together a movement with the theoretical and organizational tools and the practical experience necessary to defeat enemies and build a new world.

Theory

We must learn from the experience of other movements and other struggles experience which teaches that "there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory." We have learned rich lessons from struggles with no theory at all. Those lessons teach us two important things about unity and theory:

1. We cannot be dogmatic. Once we have rooted ourselves in certain principles, we must direct our struggle according to the concrete, changing conditions around us.

2. *Real* unity will come about *not* by ignoring differences but by airing those differences and struggling to resolve them. It is through the interplay of ideas and the testing of those ideas in practice that a correct position will be hammered out.

Appendix B

Organization

We must struggle to improve our organization work. Building unity means finding ways of utilizing the abilities and skills of everyone who is serious about struggling.

Practice

The real test of our united front work is, of course, in practice. We must engage in principled work both inside and outside of the anti-imperialist front; in addition we must develop our ability to carry the fight against racism and imperialism to different groups of people around different issues, yet maintain our course:

The principle task of our movement at this time has two aspects. We must merge the Black liberation struggles in the U.S. with the National liberation struggles in Africa, because a victory anywhere in the fight against U.S. imperialism is a victory everywhere. We must coordinate the Black Liberation struggles in the Western Hemisphere with the overall struggle of People of Color to change the fundamental nature of this society, because we have a responsibility to the world to fight exploitation and oppression in this very stronghold.

The time is ripe to develop a United Black people's Struggle, a struggle to merge the Black liberation movement with the process of World Revolution. The question is: HOW?

Operational Unity

"The whole argument about whether unity is achieved through a step by step process, or through a political decision is in fact a futile one. Ultimately a political decision is necessary, without it unity cannot be achieved. But in the meantime, do we merely wait and hope for a miracle, leaving our development and independence forever in jeopardy, or do we make what progress we can?" -Julius K. Nyerere

The struggle we are engaged in must be a broad one - it must be capable of encompassing a diversity of ideological positions, class formations, and social groups. And it must be *operational.* It cannot be so broad that it cannot function.

But unity cannot be ordered or willed into being, it must be built as the conditions develop. We do not expect Black nationalists elected Black public officials, Black socialists, Black ministers, and Black union leaders to unite around a common program merely by their attendance at a meeting, no matter how spectacular. In fact, we feel that this is an incorrect approach at the present time. "Great " men and women do not make history - the people make history. There are some who say that all of "the leaders" should come together so that Black people can come together. We believe that, to the contrary, it is the struggles of everyday Black people - it is their emerging unity that will make the "leaders" come together, and not the other way around. Those who are serious about struggle against racism and imperialism must involve themselves in the struggle of Black people. Only such a cause will bring about the unity we desire so much.

The development of a lasting Black anti-imperialist united front requires a struggle for unity on two levels; internal and external.

Internal

"Dust will accumulate in a room if not cleared regularly"
-Mao Tse Tung

In order for the Black Liberation Struggle to advance there must be a dynamic and direct struggle to unite forces, and develop correct views. This unity in struggle will develop militants with experience, committed to correct views and unified with other individuals and organizations proven in the fight against imperialism. Active criticism and ideological struggle are the weapons and the way of ensuring that Brothers and Sisters within the ALSC build strong operational unity. Non-antagonistic contradictions within the committee can only be resolved through active ideological and political struggle based on principle. The basis of such struggle will ensure us

a higher unity. Such a unity based on unity-struggle, unity, will cement organizational unity and correct our political direction. If errors are left by themselves, organizational unity, strength and direction will not be achieved.

External

Our unity with other political tendencies in the Black Community must be based on a commitment to eliminate racism and defeat monopoly capitalism in the Western Hemisphere and imperialism throughout the rest of the world. For example, our view is that African people must control Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau and the only way to really do this is by armed revolutionary struggle. Recognizing the present condition, we also support the struggles for democratic rights; for instance the right of Black workers to organize in Durham, N.C., South Africa or Detroit, Michigan. In this way we must begin to invoke people of various ideological positions - ministers, elected officials, civil rights groups, etc., around the program of ALSC, not on their terms but on commonly agreed terms - on terms of the front which we can all support. This process will not happen immediately, it will have to be done step by step. Part of success or failure will be in our ability to scientifically identify different classes and social groupings in the Black Community *so that we can deal with them all effectively.* The success of "unite the many to oppose the few" in any society involves knowing exactly who composes "the many" and determining what they can be united around.

Focus for Mobilization

Our anti-racist, anti-imperialist, Black united front must attempt to unite all social groups and class formations within the Black community in a common struggle. Thus our struggle must mobilize the masses but this can only be done when the specific character of this exploitation is clearly understood.

Most Black adults work in production or service jobs. It is

this sector of the Black community that has the most to gain by the victory of our struggles and they have been the most ignored by the movement. We also consider unemployed workers, most brothers and sisters incarcerated in prisons and welfare recipients as displaced workers. We must give the highest priority to mobilizing Black workers because they have demonstrated the power to do many things, such as stopping illegal chrome shipments from Rhodesia, expose repressive use of Polaroid identification systems and stop production of cars, not only in solidarity with the liberation movements, but also as a part of the fight against their own oppression. Therefore we encourage Black workers to take the lead. It is in this area that the ALSC- the anti-racist, anti-imperialist Black United Front, must meet the challenge of showing the interrelationship of the oppression of the people of Southern Africa and the exploitation of the Black people in the Western Hemisphere.

The post World War II rise of Blacks in clerical and professional jobs provided the basis for leadership, organizational skills, and ideology during the Civil Rights Era. In turn, this struggle opened up new opportunities in government work, business opportunities, educational institutions, etc. As the crisis of imperialism causes the society to contract and cut back, the Black middle strata will be cut back. This is especially true of those jobs created by the poverty program and similar agencies in the past nine years. In addition to the radicalization of these people, occupants of traditional middle strata "professional" jobs are increasingly feeling the squeeze of monopoly capital. Teachers, social workers, and government workers, to name a few can and must be shown the true nature of the society of the Western Hemisphere. Their struggle will ultimately not be that of saving their professional status, but rather in joining with the masses of people to defeat racism and imperialism decisively and finally.

Short life expectancy and high birth rates result in the Black community being young. Youth is also a time of struggle. We must gather together Black Youth from the plants, from the campuses, the streets, penal institutions, military reservations, and wherever else they are, to create a mass mobilization of these youth in the anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggle.

Summation

In summary we have presented three major points:

1. The new unity of the Black Liberation struggle must be anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist in character.

2. The struggle to unify Black anti-racist, anti-imperialist forces is our source of strength in building an ideologically advanced movement.

3. Our unity must involve all Black social groups and class formations and we propose that Black workers take the lead.

Basic Program for African Liberation Support Committee

1. Raise money for liberation groups in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau through the United African Appeal.

2. Conduct educational seminars and programs on racism, feudalism,imperialism colonialism and neocolonialism and its effect on the continent of Africa, especially South Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

3. Develop and distribute literature, films, and other educational material on racism, feudalism, imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and its effect on the continent of Africa, especially Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

4. Participate in and aid (the) Black community and Black workers in the struggles against oppression in the U.S.,Canada, and the Caribbean.....

5. Engage in efforts to influence and transform U.S. policy as regards its imperialist role in the world.

6. Engage in mass actions against governments. products, and companies that are involved in or are supportive of racist, illegitimate

regimes in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

7. Support and spearhead annual ALD demonstrations in conjunction with the International African Solidarity Day.

Introduced June 29, 1973- Frogmore, S.C.
Adopted Feburary 3, 1974, Greensboro, N.C.
Gene Locke- Chairman

Appendix B-15

THE POSITION OF THE ATLANTA AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

The position of the Atlanta African Liberation Support Committee on the statement of Principles of the National African Liberation Support Committee is one of critical support. We regard the Statement as needed, necessary, democratically arrived at, and binding upon all local committees. However, it is a living document that must be altered as the reality it reflects and our knowledge about that reality changes and develops. We, therefore, support the right of any member local committee to raise questions and to engage in principled criticism flowing from their local practice concerning the ideas, programs, and guidelines embodied within our statement of principles. Furthermore, we urge and encourage all member local committees to exercise that right.

Since we regard this document as the best possible democratic synthesis of the articulated regional concern, problems, lessons and ideas represented at the Fogmore, South Carolina meeting, the only objective question in our minds is, how well were the various regional realities articulated by their representatives at the meeting? We say that it is the responsibility of those who are struggling locally to formulate and to interpret the knowledge gained by their committees and to articulate these formulations and interpretations at national and regional meetings. Each local committee, therefore, is committed to engage in this process of synthesis with the understanding that the synthesized statement about our national and international reality, while it may include the local reality that a particular committee might (or at least a consideration of the interpretations and formulations about their statement about it exclusively. In order for this process to be meaningful and principled each local committee must be bound by

the agreed upon statement and work within its framework, as the process continues.

While our general position within the Western Hemisphere as African people is the same, there are regional differences owing to uneven development within our movement flowing from subtle variations in historical circumstance. If a local committee is not engaged in struggle, it will not progress in its knowledge about its local reality, and about itself as part of the local reality. If it is not formulating theory about struggle, derived from and tested within the context of its practice, then likewise its knowledge will not grow. Put simply, if you are not doing something you will not know what it is that you are talking about. If your are only doing and not thinking, you will not know what it is that you are doing. To the extent that this happens at the local level our overall understanding will suffer and our overall work will be harmed.

It is with these things firmly in our minds that we, the Atlanta African Liberation Support Committee seek to enter into this meaningful and principled ideological struggle to determine the content and form of our national and international statement of working principles which we will deem binding upon our local committee and which we consider as vital to the maintenance of the discipline necessary for us to carry out the tasks that we have set before ourselves.

WHAT WE MUST DEFEND

Our committee will outline at this point what it is that we most strongly support within the Statement of Principles and what aspects of it we are committed to defend, both from the so-called "white left" outside our ranks and rightist elements within our own ranks. Following that we will ask for further elaboration and specificity in the same general direction in which the statement is already going. We will then show through certain community struggles which we have been part of as the ALSC or as individuals, why it is essential that these positions be, at the very lest, maintained.

We support and defend: 1) The anti-imperialist, and anti-racist

(anti-national oppression) thrust of the statement. 2) Its recognition of distinctive class stratum within the Black community which are all oppressed but not similarly exploited. 3) The call for principled unity among these different strata against a common enemy, to achieve a specific objective. 4) Its emphasis upon the leadership and organization of the Black working class strata. 5) Its position on culture. 6) Its thematic assertions regarding the objective link between the continental African struggle and the African peoples" struggle in North America. And 7) Its affirmation of the need for African people, the world-over to decide for ourselves the direction and nature of our support and of our struggle.

WHY WE MUST DEFEND IT

1. ***The Anti-Imperialist, and Anti-Racist Anti-National Oppression thrust of the Statement has to be defended.*** Our statement of principles is a statement to the World about our understanding of what it is that we are doing and of the principles that govern our activity. If we say that we are committed to the material and moral support of certain of the liberation organizations that are engaged in struggle in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau, and each of these groups are struggling against imperialism and articulate our position as such. We recognize imperialism to be the most fundamental determinant of the social condition of our people; and that it is the basis of the link between the black liberation struggle in this country and the world wide revolutionary movement. If these groups in their national liberation struggles against their oppression as a nation of people, can find the concept of "Imperialism" useful in describing the nature of their struggle to the largely illiterate in describing the nature of their struggle to the largely illiterate peasant populations with which they work, then we in North America peasant populations with which they work, then we in North America certainly can find some utility in it as a means of explaining the most fundamental characteristic of the day to day reality of our literate people in an advanced industrialized

situation. Capitalism at its Imperialist stage of development is not a figment of some intellectual's imagination.

The brothers and sisters of the armed liberation groups are in the advanced stages of our struggle on their front. We have much to learn from them. The fact that they see our statement of principles as an ideologically advanced document should be of considerable importance to us. Years of struggle, both internally and against the imperialist enemy, has yielded rich ideological lessons. Their reactions to our statement should be seriously considered.

2. ***Its recognition of distinctive class stratum within the Black community has to be acknowledged and defended.*** Our Statement of Principles calls for a United Front type effort for the support of the liberation struggles. A United Front pre-supposes that there are differences that exist between and among us and it is only by realistic understanding and assessment of those differences can we hope for the achievement of principled and disciplined unity. In our efforts in Atlanta we cannot hope for success unless we affirm as part of our local situation, the existence of a relatively strong petty-bourgeoisie* which has been historically opportunistic. We cannot accept any formulation that says that there is not any difference between the rich so-called "educated elite" of Atlanta and the day workers who congregate on Decatur Street and in various manpower offices within the city each morning in search of one day's work at a time. These differences exist to a lesser extent numerically in most urban areas with large Black populations, but our practice tells us that it is very dramatic within deep south cities and historically developed class distinctions in Atlanta among our people are not a state of mind. They are matters of objective fact.

3. ***Its call for principled unity among the different class strata against an enemy in order to accomplish a commonly agreed upon goal has to be defended as an effective tactic.*** We take heed of theseclass differences, and consistent with the program of ALSC, seek principled unity with all Black organizational forms representing

different classes, groupings, and ideological tendencies, "not on their terms but on commonly agreed upon terms". Whenever any Black organizational formation, individual, class grouping or ideological tendency embarks upon a course of action that is clearly objectively opposed to the interest of our brothers and sisters who are engaged in the armed struggle for the total liberation of Africa and to the liberation of our peoples in general, we deem it our duty to criticize,expose, and to appropriately discipline them. That is part of the process by which our struggle will cleanse itself of the rank opportunism of the petty-bourgeoisie. Unity does not drop from the sky. It must be forged in the crucible of struggle.

Sectarianism, and "closed doorism" is being and has been fought within the revolutionary organizations that are committed to support. *petty-bourgeoisie - is here meant to describe that sector of the Black population that owns or controls some marginal aspect of the means of production or distribution that is operative within the Black community. This definition may also include a strata of the privileged educated elite who by participation in the dominant economy receive excessively high salaries.

Fighting organizations call themselves fronts, unions or some name indicating a united effort on the part of all groups and individuals within their country who agree that historical conditions are ripe for armed struggle. They then become united and commit their energies and resources towards carrying out that agreed upon task. The ALSC is a front type organizational formation of all groupings and individuals in the western hemisphere who agree that the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and Guinea- Bissau should be supported. We are a front type organizational form that is committing our energies and resources to carrying out this task. But in order to do it effectively, democratically, and in a disciplined manner a commonly agreed upon set of principles must bind us together so that in a united fashion we can accomplish our task.

4. ***Its emphasis upon the leadership role and the need for***

organization Black workers in support of the liberation struggle must be defended. If we define the ALSC as being anti-imperialist and anti-racist in nature, then that commits us to the destruction of capitalism at its imperialist stage in development, and also commits us to the destruction of racism or national and international Black oppression. If this be so capitalism and racism will have to be destroyed at the point of its creation, the point of production. While racism will not die the moment that capitalism is destroyed, it will never perish as long as capitalism and its mode of living endures. The point of production is not the only point at which effective supportive struggle against capitalism for African Liberation groups be waged. Since capitalism realizes itself in the market, effective struggle can be waged there too. In fact, struggle can be waged within and against all of the institutions that buttress capitalists society. But the pint of production remains as the most essential point at which effective, serous struggle will sooner or later have to be waged.

Our brother and sisters in armed struggle on the continent are organizing the productive sector of the population within their own countries for the struggle. They are focusing their efforts upon the peasantry. The masses of the continental African peoples are peasants with the possible exception of the people of Azania. If we are to organize our people in the United States and the rest of the West, we have to focus upon the African worker on this side of the Atlantic. By withholding their collective labor power at the point of production they can strike a deadly blow to imperialism. By withholding some of their enormous purchasing power as a group at the point of consumption they can deal a heavy blow against capitalism. The Black worker is the decisive force and is objectively linked closely with and is an essential part of the struggle of oppressed African peoples around the world.

5. ***Its position on Culture must also be defended.*** We are supporting revolutionary people's struggles. As they engage in political struggle their style of life and their values are also transformed. Revolutionary culture develops and is transformed by revolutionary political struggle which comes from a consciously felt need to

transform a peoples economic position in a society and in the world. In this struggle they come to disregard what is no longer useful to them as they struggle against modes of behavior and values that are alien to them and take on new modes of collective behavior as it aids in their political struggle. Therefore, alien values and life styles must be opposed and at the same time antiquated values and outdated modes of behavior must also be done away with. It should not be the purpose of the ALSC to perpetuate traditional Africa values that do not have validity within the context of contemporary African peoples" struggles. It is our purpose to insure the continued cultural development of African peoples. This process cannot be facilitated by the abstract imposition of any metaphysical "ten commandments of culture" or any "twenty principles of Blackness". It must be done through and as a result of meaningful political struggle.

6. ***Its thematic assertions regarding the objective in between CONTINENTAL African struggles and the African peoples' struggles in the western Hemisphere must be defended.*** As Black people who are beginning to scientifically view the nature of the struggle of our people we can no longer be satisfied with vague notions of mere cultural identification with our long lost homeland, or "care package" ideas of pity, like "we must help our brothers and sisters in Africa because they are less fortunate than us." If we are the same people and our struggle is a common one, then it must be demonstrated in the sameness of our objective position in this world system of exploitation and therefore world oppression to maintain that exploitation that our peoples are faced with. The ALSC's Statement of Principles is a step in that direction. It stands as an affirmation that through our support of the continental liberation struggles a richer understanding of our own struggles in the West will be realized. And an increased commitment to it is a fundamental aspect of that realization.

7. ***Its affirmation of the need for African people, the world over to decide for ourselves the direction and the nature of our struggle and our support has to be defended.*** The Statement of

Principles and the existence of the ALSC itself as an independent group of Africans in the Western Hemisphere supporting our brothers and sisters who are armed and waging revolutionary warfare, determining the character of that support, and deciding which groups should get it based upon our own analysis coming from an understanding of our won position in the world is historically valid and significant in itself. It shows that we recognize the independent nature of our people's struggle as well as its interdependence with other progressive forces at work in this world. But in order for the political and ideological impact of our position as a people among revolutionary forces of the world to be felt, our movement must maintain its autonomy.

OUR CRITICISM

While, on the one hand, we support the Statement of Principles as an assemblage of correct assertions about the oppression and the exploitation of African people on both sides of the Atlantic, it is imperative within the context of that support, on the other hand, to draw attention to a certain theoretic incompleteness which exists within the document.

Terms such as " imperialism" "neo-colonialism", "monopoly capitalism", and even "class" are used without a sufficient attempt to clarify their intended meaning or significance. We are not here arguing against the use of the terms themselves. What we are saying is that more clarity should be given to them. This is by no means a purely academic concern. As is noted in the statement itself, "there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory" and our movement is only showing the beginnings of an effort to develop in a systematic fashion any revolutionary theory. For that reason it is necessary that each of us take every opportunity to expand and refine our individual and collective conceptual framework so that we might overcome the tremendous theoretical backwardness with which we are now burdened.

Some might argue that the Statement is not meant to be a theoretical exposition. Even, if the Statement is intended to be

circulated among the "masses" then it is incumbent upon us to give clear and precise meaning to all concepts used, especially to those as central as "imperialism", "neo-colonialism", "class formation, "monopoly capitalism", etc., and to give valid examples of them in action. Failure to this is an abrogation of our responsibility.

At the same time, if the Statement is to be used effectively as an internal document within ALSC, it is just as important to explain well the concepts contained in it. They must be treated realistically, and their interdependent character must be pointed out. In order for the local cadre to see these linkages so that they are able to articulate them, we have to be able to do more than merely establish some empirical "facts" in isolation (like a summary of Gulf Oil's balance sheet) or simply assert relationships in the real world and be familiar with the conceptual framework from which they arise.

The specifics of this general criticism can best be illustrated by calling for more elaboration and theoretical completeness in the following specific sections of the Statement:

1. **World View**

We would like to see a relationship established between racism and imperialism with historical elaboration of their inter-relationship. We also like to see a relationship established between monopoly capitalism and imperialism, and between these two and colonialism and neo-colonialism.

2. **Africa**

We would like to see a more comprehensive elaboration of the reasons for the extensive investments by multi-national corporations in Southern Africa. We would also like to see the concept of neo-colonialism illustrated here in more detail in connection with "independent" African nations which is put forth in this section... along with this we would like a specific statement of how it is that Israel and South Africa intends to "recolonize" "independent" Africa.

3. **Western Hemisphere**

Here we would like to see a statement about the economic basis of the social problems mentioned in this part of the paper. We also would like a further elaboration of the concept of "revolutionary culture", and "cultural aggression."

4. **Finally Got the News**

We would like established in some detail the implications of the rising market price of gold and the failing value of the dollar. We also want to see demonstrated the relationship between "run-away shops" and the instability in the U.S. economy.

5. **Towards a United Front**

We think that some reasons for a front as well as an explanation of who should be included in it would be appropriate here. We also would like some reasons to be given as the why it is that the time is ripe for the creation of such a front type organization formation around this issue.

6. **Operational Unity**

We think that a statement concerning time and circumstances under which operational unity should be sought should be enumerated along with some indication of the elements of the community that this type of unity should include.

7. **Basic Program for ALSC**

We have nothing pressing here.

In general we applaud the Statement of Principles as a meaningful step in the right direction and regard it as something that we are proud of.

LOCAL ELABORATION

Metropolitan Atlanta is the 20th largest city according to population in the USA with 1,645,000 residents. The city itself has a 52% Black population, officially. This massive community has been engaged in many significant and interrelated struggles within recent

years from which we can learn a great deal as they continue. We would like to mention here, at least, some of them and to point to a few of these lessons.

ELECTORAL POLITICS

In little over a year, the Black community in Atlanta has acquired a Black congressman, half the seats on the new city council, effective control of the school board and, as the crowning glory, a Black mayor.

The short-term effect of these acquisitions has been a euphoria and a sense of accomplishment within the local Black petty-bourgeoisie which, rightfully, feels that all of its problems have been solved. For that reason the Black elite recently organized an inauguration with all of the pomp and pageantry which would be expected after a successful palace coup, even though the participants thought themselves to be celebrating what was to them a "revolution".

In the long-term, needless to say, the life-condition of the great majority of Black people will not have changed.

Looking at their records closely, we find that the Black mayor and Congressman are both shameless supporters of Zionism, while at the same time each, when pushed, gives lip service to African Liberation. Moreover, in his year in office the Congressman, Rev. Andrew Young, has repeatedly voted against social welfare legislation (most recently a bill to increase the free school lunch program) and has voted for arms appropriation for NATO and (in the same week he voted against the school lunch bill) a large appropriation to refurbish the faces of Mt. Rushmore. Young has also been guilty of breaking the unity of the Congressional Black Caucus by voting for the confirmation of the arch-racist Gerald Ford as Vice-President. This is hardly the whole of his contemptible voting record, only the tip of the iceberg.

Young is an agent of the Citizens and Southern Banking interests and during his campaign he called for bombing Hanoi "into the Stone Age" if United States prisoners of war were not released, (Young is an ex-disciple of the advocator of non-violence, M.L. King Jr.). While he was doing these types of things in the white community he contended to his Black constituency that he had no positions on any issues.

Maynard Jackson, the new mayor, ran a law-and-order campaign and for his efforts was endorsed by the Chamber of commerce, the traditional anchor of the local power structure. Jackson, who pledge to deal with Atlanta's murderous police chief, since his election has only backed up on the question of Chief Inman, but has refused to make a firm statement concerning the homicidal tyranny carried on against the Black community by the Atlanta Police Dept. We will return to this point later in this section of the document.

The campaign which swept him and the black councilmen and school board representatives into office is very instructive. The last white (Jewish) incumbent mayor, in his campaign against Jackson, portrayed him and Hosea Williams, the SCLC activist who finished second in the race for President of the City Council, as a pair of radical Black racists. Jackson and all the other candidates as well as all the "legitimate" kingmakers in the black community isolated Williams and endorsed his white opponent, also the choice of the Chamber of Commerce.

Right after the election, Jackson met with the Chamber and came out with a big grin on his face and the announcement that they had worked everything out. (Ironically, just two days after the gala inauguration, the blacks on the City council are charging the white President, whose campaign they endorsed over Hosea, with "racism", always the inevitable complaint of the black petty-bourgeoisie when it feels that it hasn't received the full thirty pieces of silver.) All this shows once again that the only unity the black petty-bourgeoisie is

capable, is based entirely on taking advantage of the party it unites with for its own short sighted purpose.

ANTI-REPRESSION WORK

Within the last year the Atlanta Police Dept. has been guilty of the murder of 19 black people. The most recent of which was the infamous killing of Virgil Williams by strangulation at the hands of two policemen in the City Jail. Included in this number is a brother who was supposedly engaged in a bank robbery attempt and was shot some 50 times and another brother who was accused of raping a white woman. He was shot about 50 times also. Then there was 14 year old Pamela Dixon who was shot and wounded for no apparent reason. Mark Clyde Bethune (Ibo) and John P. Boyd who are regarded as heroes in the Detroit Black community for their efforts to get dope out of their community were executed by the Atlanta Police Department.

Black petty-bourgeoisie politicians and bureaucrats have been guilty of promising law and order to the downtown business establishment by increased police protection. And to the Black community they say that they are opposed to dope. Their solution to this is again, more police. The example of Detroit and other cities has taught us that it is the police that are engaged in the narcotics trade. And often it is they who are the pusher men. It is no accident that they would want John Boyd and Mark Clyde Bethune out of the way, along with all other young bloods with that kind of commitment.

So we have in Atlanta, the black petty-bourgeoisie in their roles as Black elected officials, playing this deadly game of supporting the police department, with its corrupt and murderous SWAT and DECOY squads (part of the dope trade themselves), and saying that they are opposed to narcotics in the black community.

Spear heading this anti-repression movement in Atlanta is the Anti-Repression Coalition as well as other Coalition type grouping.

The Atlanta ALSC has been of assistance in demonstrations, petitions, drives, and other such work done by these various organizations.

THE STRUGGLES FOR BLACK EDUCATION

In Atlanta today there is an ongoing struggle to maintain the 86 Black public schools with their 59,826 Black students under the control of the black community. This struggle is being led by the local NAACP whose leadership has come up with the "Atlanta compromise School Desegration Plan". The plan calls for the establishment of a Black majority in the administrative staff at all levels within the school system, and the maintenance of a Black majority with regard to teachers and students. The plan is more progressive than most. But again it is the petit-bourgeoisie that will benefit most, since it is they that are the administrators and the teachers of the schools. The major short-coming within the plan is that it does not speak to the question of the quality or the orientation of the education within the "Black controlled school-system."

From the year of 1951 to the year of 1972 the Atlanta public school system went from approximately 60% white to 77% Black and the trend is continuing. This struggle has succeeded in the election of a majority Black board of education and the establishment of a Black watch dog group called the Guardians. At this point the effectiveness of this group is in doubt, but they do exist and are doing some work. As our committee does more within the public schools what we do will surely compliment the work of the Guardians as well as put some pressure on the petit-bourgeois elements on the board to allow us to bring the issue of the support for the African Liberation struggles into the schools.

There are no Black State colleges or universities in Atlanta. All of them are private and are semi-autonomous within the Atlanta University Center. The foundations of many multi-national cooperatives have been pumping revenue into the schools of the center

making them increasingly more dependent upon these funding sources. These institutions are being run by, again, for the most part, reactionary bureaucrats. Occasionally, a professor, group of students, or even a department head or two will give some support to or participate in a significant struggle around a campus issue. The Black issues Forum is a University wide discussion group that meets in open Forum bi-monthly to discuss issues deemed of significant importance. Many of us work with that group.

BLACK WORKER'S STRUGGLE

Despite the strength of the petit-bourgeoisie, black worker activity has increased greatly over the last two years. Recently we have seen some thirty (30) all Black or black-lead strikes within the Atlanta area. They include those at; Sears, Rich's, Meade, Warren refrigeration, Holy Family Hospital, Zates & Butler shoes, and the Woolworth now in progress, as well as many others. Often strikes have been organized and lead by non-unionized workers since many corporations have relocated in the South, in order to take advantage of cheap Black unorganized labor. There is a large day working population here also. They, of course, are unorganized. The implication for a deeper understanding of the nature of run-away shops are being measured with these and other things I mind.

One way of assessing the significance of this activity is to look at the intensity of the repression that has come down on it. In the strike at the Holy Family Hospital two people were shot. During the Meade strike many workers and their supporters were thrown into jail.

The recent Warren Refrigerator strike had our committee helping to man the ticket lines and involved in the collection of strike support funds. Their union claimed that it would sanction the strike but could not financially support the workers while they were out.

SCLS's Rev. Hosea Williams and his Poor People's Labor Union

along with the Rev. Joseph Boone of the Metropolitan Atlanta Summit Leadership conference have provided much of the traditional leadership in these struggles, but there has emerged recently several more radical Black organizational groupings that have great promise. They include the Black Labor Action Committee and the Black Worker's Congress. There are members from these organizations that are part of our local committee. Our work in this area is limited and more needs to be done.

THE STRUGGLES IN MASS TRANSPORTATION

As Atlanta has witnessed this period of phenomenal growth centering primarily on commercial as well as industrial expansion that has characterized the south in general, the transportation of labor and the shipment of commodities has become an issue. The Metropolitan Rapid Transit Authority (Marta) has begun preparation for the construction of a Rapid Transit System and has been purchasing new buses that are designed to operate on "feeder" bus line into the new subway system.

When this plan for a Metropolitan rapid Transit authority was introduced to the Black people of Atlanta in a referendum during the 1970 mayoral election it was voted down. After that, the then Jewish mayor, representing the downtown commercial interests and therefore white American capital, in general, began to place many "influential" Blacks on the "study" committee for MARTA. The city government then, began to allocate funds to train more Blacks to conduct education sessions, and biased surveys within the Black community. As a result of this propaganda and other incentives, the traditional petit-bourgeois Negro leadership came out in support of the Rapid Transit system of MARTA agree to hire a significant number of Black laborers in its construction. At that point, in a shrewd class-oriented move the Black elite agreed to endorse an increase in the sales tax as opposed to an increase in the property tax in order to generate enough revenue to finance the "MARTA plan". The result was that, while Black people

were riding the brightly colored MARTA buses for .15 cents, they were paying for it every time they bought a loaf of stale bread or a few pounds of tainted meat. To add insult to injury, the same MARTA that is doing all of this is now about to increase the bus fares because of the so called "energy crisis". (An interesting note: MARTA has a contract with the Gulf Oil corporation which is now supplying their diesel fuel as they do a significant number of the larger cities in the U.S...) And , of course, taxes on the extensive property holdings of the Black petit-bourgeoisie, though higher than those in the white suburbs, remained the same.

Another dimension to this wholesale sell-out was the concern of the Black elite that their areas of business would be destroyed because of the proposed route of the Rapid Transit System. With a promise from the city government they would receive financial aid in relocating their businesses within the vicinity of the MARTA train stations and an assurance that business will be better than ever for them, they now support the MARTA plan in its total endeavor.

Needless to say that many Black people will lose their homes and other limited resources and advantages because of this. And even most of the smaller Black businessmen will be driven out of business as this plan is instituted.

But the real benefactors are the white capitalists who require that Black labor be at a certain place at a certain time to work for them, or to go buy those inferior goods that are sold to us at high prices. Along with them, the whites who live in the suburbs who use the transportation facilities to get to their privileged jobs within the inner city each day, but do not pay the high sales taxes and other taxes of the city. Daily our people are losing the fruits of their collective labor power and the power of their consumption as our wealth flows to the suburbs in a steady stream.

Though our committee is not participating in the concrete organizational work going on around this issue, we can bear witness

to the different class interests at play in this regard. Up to this point, most of the organizational forms that have emerged have been local groupings of residents that have focused their attention upon a particular aspect of this problem. And since all of the implications of it have not, as yet, been fully revealed,, no one group has come into being that has chosen to address this problem in general.

GULF OIL AND ABERNATHY

Now we come to a specific instance of class interest as it is related to an issue that specifically and directly concerned the African Liberation Support Committee, and our reason for being.

In an unprincipled move, one of the sponsors of the nation wide boycott Gulf effort mounted by the Pan-African Liberation Committee and supported by the African Liberation support committee and other groups, in the midst of the effort which he himself is on record as endorsing, accepted a $50,00.000 grant from that same company. Since the Rev. R. D. Abernathy makes his home in Atlanta,, and since the national headquarters of the SCLC is also located here, our committee was faced with the task of opposing the naked opportunism of this petit-bourgeois organization. If we were to be true to our principles and our purpose, then something had to be done exposing the dangers to the unity of our movement that this type of move poses, if not checked.

We moved on several different levels. We wrote an open letter to the SCLC leadership which was published in several of the local papers. Later we went on the radio where a significant number of the callers wanted us to speak to the issue of Gulf Oil and Abernathy. We had a small demonstration in front of the hotel where he was scheduled to receive a special award from the Urban League and have attempted to expose negative impact that this type of thing is having upon our movement. The message got out there.

The following is the open letter mentioned before. We feel

that it states our position on this matter in an explicit manner.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE LEADERS OF S.C.L.C.

November 5, 1973

The Atlanta African Liberation Support Committee has taken the categorical position that the National S.C.L.C., under the leadership of the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, and its board of director, should not have taken $50,000 gift from the Gulf Oil Corporation.

The Freedom Fighters of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau have identified Gulf Oil and the racist Portuguese government, which is directly responsible for killings and maiming of countless African men, women and children, as their enemies. Their enemies are our enemies. Gulf Oil pays the Portuguese government $30 million per year. Without this financial support the Portuguese could not wage its criminal war. This money has been stolen by the exploitation and maiming of African workers and the rape of African land. This blood money that you have accepted is an unprincipled action and puts you in league with thieves of African babies. How can you, the leadership of SCLC, an organization with a history of just struggles against wrong, reconcile this unrighteous act? You are wrong; and it is our duty to our people to say so. We feel also that we must condemn any others among us who would attempt to undermine our unity in this way.

The Founder and President of SCLC, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., once said, "that if a man has not found anything to die for, then he is not fit to live." This holds true for organizations that profess to have the interests of oppressed people at heart. The civil rights period of our movement is over, that is why we support the revolutionary struggles of the armed liberation groups in Angola and the other Portuguese colonies. Their struggle lives because it has the support of the people. You have admitted that your organization does not have the financial support of Black people, so do not allow it, by taking this blood money, to become a stumbling block in the way of our people's progress.

We realize that most human rights organizations are in a financial crisis, at this point in history. We do not attempt to deny you financial survival. We know you need money. But should the principles of freedom from oppression be bartered for $50,000? Our people have initiated a national boycott effort, aimed at the Gulf Oil Corporation and your organization has said that you support this effort. We are asking for your total support, by severing all relations with the Gulf Corporation.

We are therefore appealing to your conscience, something you have often done, to give this $50,000 back to the Angolan Freedom Fighters, since it is from them that it has come. Knowing that you are honorable men of conscience, we feel that this will be done, since it is just. Do you think that our great leader, teacher, and the founder of your organization, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, would be pleased, knowing the organization that has led our people through the trying days of the civil rights movement, has degenerated to the point of accepting money stained with the blood of Angolan babies?

THE ATLANTA AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

Summary Statement

We wish to emphasize that in order for any analysis of our Statement of working Principles to have validity it must be based upon formulations derived from concrete practice. What we have attempted to do is to analyze our Statement of working Principles from the vantage point of our work within the context of the Atlanta Black community; no more and hopefully, no less. We again say that, if you are not doing anything then what you say has no validity. If you are only doing and not thinking, then you do not know what it is that you are doing.

Our People Will Triumph! Glory to Our Struggle.
The Atlanta African Liberation Support Committee

Appendix B-16

POSITION PAPER OF THE NEW ORLEANS ALSC ON THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Introduction

The New Orleans-ALSC supports the Statement of Principles of the National ALSC in a principle way. We recognize the Statement of Principles as the main direction of the National, Regional and Local ALSC. We recognize the need for a clear, complete and acceptable document to unite ALSC at all levels, yet we do see certain areas that need to be developed further and take on a broader and more defined view. Support, critical support, therefore is the stand of the New Orleans ALSC to the Statement of Principles.

What Do We Support In The Statement of Principles And Why

1. **The ANTI-IMPERIALIST DIRECTION OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES**

We support and follow the presently established direction towards the unity of ALSC on several factors. The present stand and successes of the national liberation struggles in Africa and also Asia and Latin America against imperialism. This has been the primary cause of the further intensification of the crisis of imperialism. The present and recent history of struggle of black people in general and black workers in particular, nationally as well as locally. Though lacking revolutionary consciousness to some degree, these struggles have taken on the largest monopoly-capitalist groups and their political superstructure. From auto plants in Durban to Detroit, imperialism has had no rest. All of which further proves the correctness of the anti-imperialist direction of ALSC's unity.

2. **A CALL FOR A MASS FORMATION**

To continue to combat the "great man" theory of the bourgeois

ruling class in the U.S. and to foster "the masses are the true makers of history" is the essence drawn from this position. For who else have caused more than ever the present crisis of imperialism but the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Since its defeats in Asia headed by the heroic Vietnamese people, U.S. Imperialism now attempts to center on the whole of Africa. Yet they have met again with further setbacks and defeats- the rise of the Arab nations and the independent nation of Guinea (Bissau). These revolutionary struggles combined with the massive struggles of black working people here further deepens the crisis of imperialism and its "great men". It will be only through massive revolutionary actions and not individual actions and conscious attack and not spontaneous movement which will in the final analysis bring imperialism to its knees here and the world.

3. BLACK WORKERS TO TAKE THE LEAD

The major character of black people today in this country is working class people. Though they are the lowest paid, super exploited sector of the labor force, they are also both key and essential to the maintenance of this capitalist mode of production. For they rest in essentially important production and service industries such as auto, steel, textile, docks, hospitals and transportation. Therefore they have not only a sentimental value in relationship to this anti-imperialist struggle, but an objective and strategic one. Yet the history of the Black Liberation struggle has shown without a doubt the importance of the heroic movements of black youth and students against imperialism. Also as their realities are being forced into plants, low-level office jobs, unemployment lines, military, prisons, etc. the objective relationship to black workers is drawn closer. This creates the need to develop further their alliance against imperialism, and we reaffirm the proposed slogan for black workers to take the lead as a strategic objective in the Black Liberation struggle.

What Points Do We See That Need To Be Clarified and Corrected

1. The chief supporter of zionism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, fascism; of reaction period throughout the

world in one way or another is U.S. Imperialism. For who else but imperialism and its reactionaries could these forms of reaction serve interest. Therefore the number one enemy in our world view, is imperialism. Nationally the major form of reaction is the national oppression of black people, and international aggression against the Third World all in the interest of the monopoly capitalist (imperialist). It is these relationships and positions that need to be made clear and maintained inside of the *Statement of Principles*. Additionally the present crisis of imperialism didn't come into existence off the sole efforts of the national liberation struggles in Africa. Ever since World War II, national liberation struggles in Asia from Korea to Vietnam, especially the latter should be given concrete mention- "For a defeat of imperialism anywhere is a victory everywhere for the world's people.

2. There is a need for a broader and more defined view and understanding of Imperialism to Africa. What is not clearly put forth is Portuguese colonialism, South Africa's apartheid, neo-colonialism and Israeli Zionism, independent reactionary development and their relationship to each other and to imperialism.

3. The four points under western hemisphere deals solely with the inside of Imperialism (U.S.)- the belly of the thing. The major problems are distinct from some of the major problems under the Canadian bourgeois capitalist class. The Caribbean on the other hand is a colonial and neo-colonial territory of the U.S. monopoly capitalist (imperialism).

4. In dealing with classes and their formations, an important point needed to be added deals with "sell out" leadership, such as, SCLC's Rev. Abe (nathy) to Mississippi's Bro. (Charles) Evers.

5. Finally, is ALSC a mass organization being built in a united front manner or is ALSC the United Front? For here a distinction should be made on what factors bring about a united front, which would be independent of ALSC's will.

Appendix B-17

Position Statement of the Detroit African Liberation Support Committee

HISTORICAL VIEW

Five centuries ago Africa encountered Europe in a relationship that was to prove tragic for her and her people. The entire course of development of the African continent and African people, both those who remained behind and those brought to the Western Hemisphere as slave, was distorted by the imperialism, exploitation and racism of the European. When one nation or group of nations establishes control over the government, economy, and culture of another nation that is imperialism. This imperialism or control resulted in the exploitation of the African; that is the African was forced to work for the profit and benefit of the European. In addition, the European justified this mistreatment of the African by claiming the African was inferior to them. This is what we mean by racism. As the descendants of the enslaved Africans, we are an African people and have suffered the full impact of this terrible history. In South American, the Caribbean, North America and on the African continent African people have suffered from and now are uniting to liberate ourselves from this system of imperialism, exploitation, and racism. Therefore, we call for a political union of all African people in support of African liberation in the Americas and on the African continent. This union must oppose exploitation by advocating the equal distribution of the wealth among those who produce it. It must oppose imperialism by advocating the right of African people to determine our own destiny without external force. It must oppose racism by supporting a genuine democracy for our people which does not favor anyone based upon ethnic origin, skin color, occupation or locale. This union of African people must focus upon African people; it must organize among African people; it

must be controlled only by African people and it must struggle around the questions that affect African people on the continent, in the Caribbean, and in North America.

FOCUS FOR MOBILIZATION

In the past the leaders of the African liberation struggles have come from the middle "professional" strata of our community. That leadership was often based on "education" or "professional status" rather that correct political positions. In this new period of our struggle, leadership must be based on correct positions which come from work. This new leadership must also come from a broader spectrum of our community. Our African Political Union must attempt to unite all social groups and class formations within the African community around our common struggle for liberation

The majority of African adults work in production or service jobs. We also consider unemployed workers, most brothers and sisters locked up in prisons and welfare recipients as displaced workers. As workers, exploitation and oppression falls heaviest upon them. Though our brothers and sisters who work in these jobs produce the wealth of the society, they receive the least and suffer the most in any recession, depression or economic crisis. This sector of our community has the power to halt exploitation and oppression at its base. We recognize the crucial role African workers must play. Therefore African workers must be mobilized by first clearly exposing the specific character of the exploitation we suffer and secondly by the effective and realistic incorporation of African workers in all levels our struggle.

The post World War II rise of Africans in clerical and professional jobs provided the basis for leadership, organizational skills, and ideology during the Civil War Right Era. In turn, this struggle opened up new opportunities in government work, business opportunities, educational institutions, etc. As the crisis of imperialism causes the society to contract and cut back, the African middle strata will be cut back. This is especially true of those jobs created by the poverty

program and similar agencies in the past nine years. In addition to the radicalization of this sector of our community occupants of traditional middle strata "professional" jobs are increasingly feeling the squeeze of this cut back. In the final analysis their struggle (teachers, social workers, and government workers, to name a few) will ultimately not be that of saving their professional status, but rather in joining with the masses of people to defeat racism and imperialism decisively and finally.

Short life expectancy and high birth rates result in the African community being young. Youth is also a time of struggle. We must gather together African Youth from the plants, from the campuses, the streets, penal institutions, military reservations, and wherever else they are, to create a mass mobilization of these youth in the liberation struggle.

It is in these areas that the ALSC, our African Political Union must meet the challenge of showing the inter-relationships of the exploitation and oppression of the people of South(ern) African and of African people in the western hemisphere.

Changes Recommended in the Statement of Principles by the Detroit African Liberation Support Committee

The Detroit African Liberation Support Committee proposes the following changes in the Statement of Principles:

1. The document attached titled "Historical View" precede the section titled "World View".
2. All references to "Black" be changed to "African".
3. All references to "anti-imperialist, anti-racist united front" and "united front" be replaced by the phrase "African Political Union".
4. In the section titled "Practice" the sentence which begins "We must co-ordinate. . ." be changed to "We must co-ordinate the African Liberation struggle in the Western Hemisphere to change the

fundamental nature of this society because we have a responsibility to African people to fight exploitation and oppression in this very stronghold."

5. In the same section the sentence which begins "The time is. . ." be changed to "The time is ripe to develop a United African people's struggle, a struggle that will merge the African Liberation movements around the World."

6. The section titled "Focus for Mobilization" be replaced by the document attached here with the same title.

7. The title "Finally Got the News" replaced by the title "The African Liberation Struggle Advances".

Appendix B-18

CONCERNS OF THE CHICAGO CHAPTER, ALSC

I. Identifying Ourselves

We are an Afrikan People. More specifically, we are Afrikans in America. Our ties with other Afrikans around the world are cultural, historical, and political. Our cultural ties do not speak to an evasion of American experience, but rather, they affirm the fact that our emotional and commitment base for initiation revolutionary action is grounded in our attempts to institute and control our own culture. History both proves the validity of these all important cultural ties and points to the direction in which the movement to form a unifying revolutionary Afrikan culture must go. Our political ties with all Afrikans are informed by our powerlessness where ever we are, so our action must have at its base a will to permanent power for Afrikan people in order to combat the current oppression and to insure our freedom from foreign domination in the future.

We see the Afrikan Liberation Support Committee as a vehicle through which we can channel our energy and resources in a programmatic thrust to liberate Afrikan people. Unmistakably, we are also talking about our own liberation here in America too. We have no interest in getting tied into a global movement that does not speak to ways of eliminating our immediate oppression—that would be absurd. So the Afrikan Liberation Support Committee must deal with the global and the local simultaneously in light of the cultural, historical, and political pre-dispositions of our struggle.

II. Identifying the Enemy

Understanding ourselves culturally, historically, and politically also gives us a clear picture of who our enemies are. Our movement to achieve our own liberation priorities will inform us as to who is

standing in the way of that movement. We must not distort the true images of our enemies by cloaking them in semantic terms. In may cases these terms, given to us without adequate definition serve to further confuse rather than clarify. Racism and imperialism are certainly forces we must understand but our more urgent necessity is to understand the people who fuel those forces and give them meaning. A true scientific analysis would reveal their motivations and objectives—their cultural pre-dispositions. Racism and imperialism are certainly modes of operation but they will also use liberalism, humanism, sexism or religion to achieve the ends their motivations dictate, when these or other modes of operation are feasible. So our enemies are not social forces and modes of operation they are the people who produce the forces which are detrimental to our survival and development. Our enemies are white people. We feel that this should be a clearly articulated fact in any position developed by ALSC.

III. Considerations in Moving Against the Enemy

1. We must stop attributing our problems to only the white ruling class of the United States. The reality is that everywhere in the world whites dominate and oppress Afrikans and other people of color and this is a racial oppression not a class oppression.
2. We must not continue to define our struggle in the negative, ie. anti-racism/anti-imperialism. We must first determine what we are for and then build around that. What we are against is defined by that which conflicts with what we are for. In other words, if we are for the liberation of Afrika, then we are against what stands in the way of that liberation—white people. If we are for united and self-determination of Afrikans in America, we are against what stands in the way of our unity and self-determination—white people. If we are for an economic system that distributes

goods and services to all members of the Afrikan community based on this real needs while encouraging a work ethic that rewards participation by everyone, then we are against what stands in its way—white people.

3. Fundamentally, we are saying we must develop an indigenous ideology which speaks to our goals, our objectives, our needs as Afrikans in America, one of which is the liberation of Afrika. This ideology would have its best opportunity for being truly representative of the aspirations and objectives of Afrikans in America if it were funneled through the organization of an independent Black Political Party. ALSC should investigate the potential for it to participate in meaningful programs in conjunction with a Black Political Party thrust.
4. ALSC must work to establish operational unity with other Afrikan groups in the U.S. and abroad along the lines of self determination of Afrikan people in an attempt to secure our survival as a people through the building of the necessary sustaining cultural institutions. These institutions must be economic, political, social, religious, and artistic, and they must speak to the real needs of Afrikans in America and the world.
5. ALSC should stop pushing the misconception that workers have a historic role to come to the forefront to spearhead the liberation movement. The first problem is that the interests of white workers and black workers are different because of the fact that white workers have in many cases become pro-capitalistic and more racist as a result of more liberal policies on the part of management and union concessions and benefits. Black workers, on the other hand, suffer the discrimination and unfair practices they experience primarily because they are black and not because they are workers. Their identification with the liberation struggles must be a result of their understanding of their historic role as oppressed Afrikans not as oppressed workers. This idea does not prevent them from participating in operational unity

> as a group of workers but the cohesion of that unity is based on our Afrikan identity not on our job assignment in this country.

We understand that with this assessment we may be stereotypically termed "Narrow Nationalist" but we accept that in our attempt to do justice to our feelings and bring clarity to our position. We view the term in the same light as earlier criticisms made of black art as not being "universal". We don't feel we have responsibility to the world to fight exploitation and oppression in this very stronghold." We do have a responsibility to ourselves as Afrikan people though to fight these evils and the white people who sustain them. But beyond this we feel our primary responsibility is to create the necessary institution (the largest of which is a nation) to become a self-determining people in order to assure our continued development and survival as a race of Afrikans wherever we are in the world.

Appendix B-19

Austin ALSC's Position on the Statement of Principles

At a meeting on December nineteenth, the Austin ALSC unanimously voted for the Statement of Principles with the condition that clarification be made around at least the three points below.

1) The first area for clarification lies with the Austin ALSC's concern for the document's deletion of any clear correlation between national, international, and local struggles.

2) The second point is strictly one of the great need of the document to be one that is intelligible to the masses of Black people.

3) The third point that the document should specifically define racism and imperialism so that it will be clearly understood why Black people should support an anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggle.

Chairperson,Rhonda Rhodes

Appendix B-20

OHIO ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

A correct historical analysis of black people in the world affirms that we are an African People, meaning we are descendants of people who have their origins on the african Continent, and inheritance that despite our present geographic location does not alter the reality of who we are. African people the world over are one people with a common history, a common identity, suffering under the same political, economic, and social oppression and domination by a common European enemy.

STATE OF AFFAIRS

It is a known fact that large populations of African people live in the U.S., in South American, in Canada, and the parts of Asia as well as in Africa and the Carribean. There has been little difference in the nature and degree of oppression suffered by African people, whether in Harlem, Trinidad, Ghana, Tanzania, or Papua New Guinea. A careful analysis of present day trends and actions clearly reinforce and show the nature of our oppression.

The people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and the Cape Verde Islands are engaged in battle with the Portuguese colonialists who are trying to maintain economic and political control over them. The people of Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Namibia (South West Africa) are waging a protracted struggle with the white settlers who are occupying and claiming African soil as their own.

Here in the Americas, the same story is told in many different ways. Increasing problems related to employment, continued cutbacks and neglect in the area of social services (welfare, transportation, housing, sanitation, education, and health facilities,) and police repression characterized by the growing amount of legislature giving police more power, and the rising number of African youth in prisons, are all tools and examples of the oppression suffered by Africans in the Americas.

These events are by no means isolated or separate. The relation

between the 16 million African people in Southern Africa, who are dominated by 3 million whites, and the 22 million African people in the U.S., can be pointed out by the fact that while the U. S. government systematically cut backs on much of the federal funds used for black community programs, the U. S. Also supports Portuguese oppression and exploitation through direct aid (such as the $430,000,000. Azores agreement and gifts of planes, arms, and military training through NATO. When striking African miners were massacred in Carletonville, South Africa, the STRESS Squad of the Detroit police division was systematically executing African people in the black community of Detroit, Michigan. These things and more begin to clearly reveal that major enemy of African people the world over are Europeans, lead and financed by the backward racist-capitalist government of the United States.

There is hardly a single major U.S. or multinational corporation or bank that doesn't have investments in Southern Africa. Chase-Manhattan Bank, Firestone Rubber and Tires, Gulf Oil, Holiday Inn, General Motors, and some 300 other firms have investments totaling over 1 billion dollars, Several major problems face the whole of Southern Africa, and Guinea-Bissau as a result of the present crisis:

1. Resettlement schemes to absorb unemployed European workers as new colonist in Africa; They will be expected to fight against the liberation forces. An example is the Cabora Bassa Dam project in Tete province of Mozambique, where over 1,000,000. European workers are expected to settle.

2. Increased levels of exploitation caused by the relocation of factories from advanced major countries "run-away shops". The conditions that generally accompany this new investment are no-strike laws forced labor, slave wages, no right-to-organize laws, and new-fascist policies of political repression against all dissent.

3. Militaristic and aggressive expansionist policies of South Africa and Israel to recolonize "independent" Africa using capital invested by multinational corporations based in the U.S., Europe, and Japan.

Without a doubt, the picture becomes quite clear—African and African people are at war!

UNITY IN ALSC

In our struggle for the total liberation and unification of Africa and African people under scientific socialism, the need for unity to help solve the major problems of the black man become paramount. Unity for the African world is not just and end in itself but rather it becomes a means to an end. Through unity we can begin to systematically move towards the unification of Africa and African people. To this end the development of a black united front becomes crucial for African people.

The African Liberation Support Committee is a committee whose sole purpose it is to give support to the African liberation struggles in the zones now under enemy control or now being contested. For example Southern Africa, Guinea Bissau, and the Cape Verde Islands, South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. The ALSC is a broad-based committee made up of individuals and representatives of African descent, whose binding point of agreement is our common struggle for the liberation and unification of Africa. Our particular point of geographic focus is Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau. Our particular function is to gain support for the brothers and sisters who are struggling against the forces of racism and imperialism and struggling for liberation in these locations. As a committee we are mixed in character. This means that many members of the committee may be members of local organizations that are dealing with the day to day problems of our people at the local and/or national level and therefore view their work with the committee as being important but not central to their total work. As members of this committee we are addressing ourselves concretely to the international obligations of our total struggle, but at the same time, through our local organizations, we are addressing ourselves to the local demands of the same struggle.

SUMMATION

-African people all over the world are at war.

-The struggle is for the unification and liberation of African and African people under scientific socialism.

-We must merge the African liberation struggles in the U.S. with the African liberation struggles in Africa in the minds as well as the actions of African people the world over.

-The struggle we are engaged in must be a broad one—it must be capable of encompassing a diversity of ideological positions, class formations, and social groups, and it must be operational because it cannot be so broad that is cannot function.

-In order for the African Liberation Struggle to advance, there must be a dynamic and direct struggle to unite forces, and develop correct views.

-Active criticism and ideological struggle are the weapons and the way of ensuring that African people within the ALSC build strong organizational unity.

-Our black united front must attempt to unite all the various groups in the black community in a common struggle to achieve a common agreed upon goal.

PROGRAMS OF THE ALSC

1. To provide financial material and moral support to the liberation struggles now being fought by the liberation of southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

2. Conduct activities that will serve to raise the level of consciousness and political awareness of African people relating to the nature

and importance of the various areas and aspects of the African Liberation struggles and to emphasize our relationship to the overall struggles of African peoples for the liberation and unification of Africa and African people.

3. Engage in mass actions against the U.S. and other governments, products and companies that are involved in or are supportive of racist, illegitimate regimes in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

4. Support and spearhead annual ALD demonstrations in conjunction with the International African Solidarity Day.

5. Constantly and scientifically examine and evaluate the position of African people and all aspects thereof) (i.e., economic and political), in the struggle for African liberation and hence world liberation.

"We possess the vital ingredient necessary to win, the full and enthusiastic support of the broad masses of the African people who are determined once and for all to end all forms of foreign exploitation, to manage their own affairs, and to determine their own future. Against such overwhelming strength organized on a Pan-African basis, no amount of enemy forces can hope to succeed." - Osageyfo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

Appendix B-21

POSITION STATEMENT

Those of us who have gathered here in Atlanta, Georgia on February 23, 1974 to prepare for the coming Sixth Pan-African Congress to be convened in Dar-es-Salaam on June 3, through the 13th, 1974 are in agreement that the black movement as a whole must declare an attitude of total opposition towards American racism at its imperialist stage of development. We, therefore wish to go on record at this particular time as being a united body in total opposition to the forces of American racism and imperialism. It is our firm belief and conviction that the struggle against American racism and imperialism must be intensified now - not tomorrow. We believe that this intensification must begin on all fronts immediately and that no comprise or concessions must be made with the forces of American racism and imperialism on any front.

We believe that it is the duty of all revolutionary groupings to call upon the working class and the peasantry to organize themselves and to take decisive action to defeat American racism, and capitalism at its imperialist stage of development. In the United States Black workers must be called upon to take the lead in setting the revolutionary tone and pace for a full scaled assault against American racism and imperialism. We further believe that it is the responsibility of all political groupings in North America to expose the backwardness of capitalist forms of social organizations, and to disseminate information exposing the forces of American racism and imperialism.

The Black community in particular must be saturated with information about our armed liberation struggles, particularly those now being waged on the continent of Africa so that our people on this side of the Atlantic can begin to make the objective links within our struggles a reality that will serve to guide our practices.

Appendix B

We hope that the North American delegation to the Sixth Pan-African Congress will share our feelings with all of those who are assembled in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania to chart a revolutionary course for the international African People's movement. We also, hope that the North American delegation will expose those elements in the Black movement in the United States who continue to make deals with multi-national corporations and act as agents of imperialists; undermining the development of the revolutionary Black movement in North America and on the continent of Africa. We also are opposed to Black investment for capitalist gains in Africa.

Southern Left Caucus of the North American Sixth PAC

Appendix B-22

June 1974

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE CARIBBEAN STEERING COMMITTEE WHICH HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THIS CONGRESS

Caribbean-South American Steering Committee - Sixth Pan-African Congress

It is with a sense of loss that the Caribbean non-governmental delegation learned that they cannot attend the historic gathering in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, because of the ban imposed by persons who had the power to do so.

Our Steering Committee has member organizations from St. Vincent, a British colony (the Organization for Black Cultural Awareness), Antigua, a British colony (The Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement), Grenada, a British colony until February 7th, 1974, (The New Jewel Movement), Guyana (ASCRIA), Trinidad and Tobago (N.J.A.C.), Barbados (the Peoples Progressive Movement), Cayenne (The National Front for the Liberation of Cayenne), Bermuda, a British colony and Jamaica.

The membership of our Steering Committee includes two international sponsors, Mzee C. L. R. James and Eusi Kwayana, who have letters acknowledging the part they have played in developing the previous conception of the Congress and the help they gave in its organization.

Of great significance is the fact that the membership of the Caribbean Steering Committee comprises organizations long committed to Pan-Africanism and social revolution. They are organizations which have come into conflict with the regimes because they, as organizations, dared to uphold the very principles of THE CALL.

In spite of the open differences of theory and practice between

us and many regimes both in the Caribbean and Africa, we consented to the proposal originating, we were told, in Tanzania, that each African and Caribbean Head of State be invited to serve as a Patron of the Congress. Our Regional Co-ordinator, in his capacity as Sponsor, recommended to the Secretary-General that the Primer Minister of Cuba could not be excluded.

To shorten your labour, we shall quote only from crucial documents which because of their authorship and presentation were intended to implement the objective of the conference.

It would be expected that any change in the structure of the conference would have accompanied or preceded the invitation of Official Patrons. All that was laid down by the International Steering Committee was that each Government would be allowed to send ONE official representative.

To crown it all, the Secretary General's *Briefing Paper* issued after the addition of Patrons reinforced the original conceptions of the Sixth Pan-African Congress as basically a PEOPLE's CONGRESS. The Briefing Paper later published in *Black World* (U. S. A.) stated:
Delegations to the Congress

"Each of the regions is responsible for raising delegations to the Sixth Pan-African Congress. *In addition* all African and Caribbean Governments are being extended an invitation to participate with their respective Heads of State requested to serve as Patrons of the Congress.

But the focus and nature of the Sixth Pan-African Congress is *non-Governmental.*"

In an organizational plan at the end of the *Briefing Paper,* the "Caribbean and South American Region" is shown as a legitimate "Region" of the Congress.

There are other relevant documents, such as the Secretary General's message to the Guyana Preparatory conference in December, 1973, which charged the conference with the election of a Steering Committee and assigned it a quota of thirty-five (35) "non-governmental delegates and five (5) observers."

The Guyana Conference inserted the item "The Caribbean Reality" on the unsatisfactory agenda prepared by the Secretary

General, because that agenda did not permit participants to carry one of the objectives set for the conference, the raising of "the political concerns" of participants. During discussion on this item "The Caribbean Reality" the following areas were examined in depth.

1) the breaking of the old Caribbean and the rise of a new, using the Antigua and Trinidad and Tobago as case studies.
2) the position of C. L. R. James that the Caribbean region was not "neo-colonial" but "colonial".
3) the use of the machinery of the old colonial state by the post-independence regimes to repress the masses.
4) the relevance to Third World peoples of the new institutions thrown up by the revolutionary movements in Trinidad and Tobago, Antigua and Guyana.
5) the independent countries of the Caribbean, with particular reference to Guyana, as bridges between imperialism and the revolutionary countries of the Third World.
6) the continued existence of British, French, Dutch and U. S. empires in the Caribbean region.

It is totally false to say that any of the examinations made at this meeting constituted a personal attack on any person whatsoever.

The keynote address had been given by C. L. R. James, who held out Tanzania as model of a socialist transformation with commitment, and as a country where the excesses of the elite were being combated by the people with the support of the ruling Party, TANU.

At the end of February the Secretary General, Mr. Courtland Cox, and Brother Manunda of TANU arrived in Guyana. They said their mission had to do with protests to President Nyerere and to the Secretary General by the Prime Minister of Guyana and the Minister of Information and Culture respectively. The Guyana authorities

later said to Courtland Cox and C.L.R. James in Guyana that it was not they who complained but that protests against the Congress had come first from Tanzania.

During this visit in February 1974, Brother Manunda outlined the difficulties faced by his country. The only solution he could see was a "re-interpretation" of THE CALL. We did not understand this proposal and rejected it.

The Secretary General returned to Guyana to attend a meeting of the Steering Committee fixed by us on dates available to him. At that meeting he said that unless TANU could be satisfied about what we were going to say at the Congress, TANU might frown on our attendance.

We will understand that a host country would have concerns about the conduct of a conference. But we could see the Caribbean delegation only as a delegation equal in status to any other delegation participating in the Sixth Pan-African Congress. We could not accept the status of an inferior Caribbean and South American Region.

The Secretary General since the April Steering Committee meeting in Guyana has not communicated to us any vital decisions, except that the Congress had been re-scheduled to June 19-27, 1974.

Mr. Cox's undertaking, given orally and in writing to inform us how much travel assistance would be available to the Caribbean delegation has never been kept. He has *never* communicated to us the decision of the Super Committee to bar our delegation from attendance. He has refused to reply to urgent cables on these two questions.

On May 4, 1974, a cable from Courtland Cox, Dar-es-Salaam, was delivered to Brother Eusi Kwayana, co-ordinator of the Caribbean and South American region. It said:

"Ambassador Salim will arrive in Guyana soon with full details. Please consult. Letter follows."

The arrival of Ambassador Salim did not take place and the letter did not follow.

There has been a suggestion in official quarters that the cable did not originate from the Secretariat in Dar-es-Salaam, or that the facts contained in it were authorized.

That possibility reinforces our conviction that all of these manoeuvres resulting in our exclusion would be explained in one phrase - Imperialism - that same Imperialism which has harassed our main Caribbean associates in the United States, through the F. B. I. and which has subjected our contacts to ceaseless interrogation on the Caribbean Steering Committee.

What is our position with regard to the meeting place in Dar-es-Salaam from June 19-27?

1) We see it not as a meeting of African people and their allies, but as a Government-dominated meeting, which is not the meeting as conceived by any of the Sponsors.

2) We demand that the Liberation Movements, whatever their concept of the conference, be given full scope for the expression of what they wish to present. We demand that the small Brazilian people's delegation led by Abduce do Nascimento be accorded full status.

3) We condemn the heightened treachery of those Black men who have voted to exclude a section of the Black revolution, which had previously agreed to invite Governments.

4) We condemn the exclusion of the representatives of the people of Latin America, of Cayenne, Puerto, Rico, Guadeloupe, Martinique, the U. S. And the Caribbean empire, the American people from the meeting.

5) We, however, wish that the positive and genuine elements at the Dar-es-Salaam meeting will prevent our negative elements and that the meeting will "recreate in Africa a climate hostile to Imperialism," and deliver crushing blows against the enemies of African people and all oppressed mankind.

Appendix B-23

GENERAL DECLARATION OF THE SIXTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Introduction

The Sixth Pan-African Congress meeting, held in Dar-es-Salaam from the 19th to the 27th of June, 1974 and attended by delegates and observers from African and Caribbean countries, representatives of people of African descent from the United States, Canada, Britain and the Pacific as well as African Liberation Movements and the Palestine Liberation Organization has analysed at length the historical development of the Pan-African Movement up to the Fifth Congress of 1945 and the major political and economic developments which have taken place in the world ever since, the question of the struggle for national liberation in Africa, racial discrimination in Africa, in the Americas and elsewhere and the question of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

The conference had the honour of being opened by Ndugu Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, who was unanimously elected Chairman of the Congress, and received a recorded message from Comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure, Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDE) and the President of the Republic of Guinea, the speeches of the two African leaders having been unanimously accepted as basic documents of the deliberations of the Congress. 1) The Pan-African movement was born, historically, to promote freedom and justice for black men and women. It was led by the logic of that demand to struggle against colonialism, oppression and racialism. That, in its turn, requires the unity of Africans including those people of African descent outside Africa.

We are indebted to all of those who took a constructive part in the Pan-African Congresses. In particular, we pay tribute to the special contribution made to this Movement by Dr. William DuBois,

having been the moving spirit behind the second, third, fourth and fifth Congresses, for he was then himself responsible for initiating and leading all the Pan-African Congresses between 1919 and 1945.

Past Congresses had to be held outside Africa. For in this continent there were until 1917 only two states in which black people were rulers as well as ruled. Neither of those nor the one black-rule sovereign state in the Caribbean - was in a position to give positive leadership to the liberation movement of the black people.

The tone of the demands expressed at those meetings changed over the years, but the demands have been consistent.

The first five Congresses could only be held because they were promoted and attended by concerned individuals. Some few of the participants and the backing of trade unions or political or social organizations. But the status of black people in the world was such that the individuals could only be representatives in the sense that a suffering and aware man or woman can always speak for others in the same condition. These men and women acted because they could no longer accept without protest the almost subhuman status which had been assigned to them by the world's dominant political and economic forces.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress echoed the experiences of the African masses in the struggle they had been waging against colonialists ever since the second half of the 19th century; their spontaneous rebelling, their first guerrilla fighters, their soldiers used as cannon fodder in the imperialist armies, their peasants evicted by foreign settlers; their mining, railroad, dock and agricultural workers, whose strikes had defied the colonial administrations and the capitalist companies, particularly between the two world wars.

The Congress Appeal to Colonial Peoples ended with the words: "Colonials and oppressed peoples of the world unite!" and advocated joint action by the workers, peasants and intellectuals of colonial territories, using all possible means, including violence, to liquidate the colonial system immediately and unconditionally.

After Manchester, the action of the peoples pushed history along the path of independence and self-determination. There is no doubt that the Fifth Congress constituted a high point in the

development of the political leadership of the African liberation movement.

The achievement of the first independence and the nationalists activity generalized throughout the continent allowed for the holding of two important Pan-African Conferences in 1958: The First Conference of Independent African Conference, held from 15 to 22 April, and the All-African Peoples' Conference, from 5 to 13 December, in Accra, capital of Ghana. Both Conferences were sponsored by the independent Government of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.

The Conference declared "that the struggle for the liberation of Africa is a task of the Africans themselves," and it called on "the workers, peasants and other sectors of the exploited masses as well as on the intellectuals, to join forces in common action for the final attack against discrimination and racism."

1960 has been called the Year of Africa. Numerous countries obtained political independence, and unquestionably important step for the liberation movement and African unity. The birth of the Organization of African Unity in May 1963 was a major factor in the implementation and development of Pan-Africanist ideas in that hereafter Pan-Africanism became a truly continental movement.

Although the Pan-African movement was originally confined to black people, our particular struggle for dignity has always been one aspect of the worldwide struggle for human liberation. That is why if we react to the continued need to defend our position as black men by regarding ourselves as different from the rest of mankind, we shall weaken ourselves and the racialists of the world will have scored their biggest triumph.

The contemporary Pan-African movement is called upon to develop in a period which is extraordinarily favourable for the progress of the revolutionary forces on our continent and in the world.

We believe that the present situation requires the clarification of a new strategy, so as to enable us to make a correct analysis of the main ingredients of the problem and, consequently draw up an appropriate strategy and tactic.

We must take as the starting point of our action the new states and nations, political and social realities that cannot be ignored or underestimated. By this we also mean that it is necessary to be realistic and abandon the Utopian idea of returning to promised lands, because the only promised land is where men are making a revolution and building a new society.

This is the paramount criterion we must continually use in defining both our enemies and our allies.

Thus, the Pan-African movement must essentially be a dynamic force for liberation of the colonized peoples as well as for the liberation necessarily means eradicating the causes of systems of exploitation and building societies based on the power of the exploited working masses.

It is therefore not only a fight in support of the struggle of the colonized peoples or victims of racialism, but also a fight for political, economic and social emancipation in every country and region.

The historical context in which this Sixth Pan-African Congress is taking place is indeed radically different to that which prevailed in 1945, when the Manchester meeting was held. After the Second World War, a vast and vigorous socialist camp emerged in the world domination.

On the other hand, the struggle of colonial peoples weakened the very foundations of the colonial powers. New nations, especially in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, have achieved independence, paving the way for a staunch community as expressed in the non-aligned movement and the OAU and other regional and international organizations. The working class of the capitalist countries has gained in class consciousness and constitutes a natural ally in the struggle against the common enemy: imperialism.

In a word, our Congress is taking place in the period of the upsurge of the national liberation movement and the class struggle at the local and international levels.

Pan-Africanism must consider the most radical methods of putting an end to foreign domination, liquidating the foundations of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid and Zionism,

by the common actions of the peoples of Africa, peoples of African descent and all peoples of the world.

African development demands that Africa must be free from economic, political and cultural exploitation by foreign capitalist powers, in order to ensure its presence as a factor for the enrichment of mankind. Domination imposed on a people, or foreign occupation of any part of mankind, however small, at the expense of human dignity, has always been a source of world conflict.

Whatever progress is achieved on the African continent will reinstate both Africans in Africa and black people in the Americas, just as the progress made by black Americans against the many forms of social and human alienation is an important contribution to the African continent. Our present task is to show unfailing vigilance towards any ideology which, while professing Pan-Africanism, conceals the interests of the imperialistic powers with a view to making us accept the philosophy of submission to foreign interests, on the basis of skin Color.

We must finish once and for all with obscurantist metaphysics. A movement which claims to be revolutionary cannot adopt the enemy's methods without in the long run serving that same enemy. Pan-Africanism was born as a movement of profound rebellion of people opposed to the forces of exploitation, oppression and alienation. And because the exploiting and alienating forces incorporated in their ideology of dominating the mouth of racial superiority, from the very outset Pan-Africanism ran the risk of falling into a racism which was intended to be anti-racist. While Pan-Africanism was born as movement of rebellion, it can only undertake its programme of liberation if it becomes a revolutionary liberation movement of our times, that is, if it analyses and clearly defines its aims, determines its means and engages in consistent action.

Skin Color, being black, white, yellow or brown, is no indication of the social class, ideology, nature, behaviour qualities or abilities of men or peoples. All human races and religions are fraught with contradictory interests. Most important for us must be our common historically destiny as a consequence or having been unjustly treated by exploiting powers. We must therefore define ourselves not

in terms of skin color, which is a static element, but solely in terms of our aims of progress, which are dynamic, just and noble.

Revolutionary Pan-Africanism inscribe itself within the context of the class struggle. Not to be conscious of this would be to expose ourselves to confusion which imperialism would not fail to exploit.

We must never forget that the imperialism we are fighting, the imperialism which nearly exterminated us in Africa and is still daily committing crimes of genocide here, was not generated through the internal historical process which took place in Africa. Imperialism was generated by capitalism and it therefore concerns the entire world. If it is to be effective, the liquidation of imperialism, that is, the liberation of the peoples, must be general. The universality of imperialism implies the universality of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Our fighting solidarity has been forged in the support for the heroic peoples of Indo-China, struggling against U. S. imperialism; in the support for the Palestinian people and our Arab brothers struggling against Zionist annexation, aggression and racism; in the support for the workers and the discriminated minorities in North America, in particular for the struggle of Black people for the destruction of the bourgeois society which oppresses both whites and blacks; in the support for the peoples of the Caribbean, and in the first place the brother peoples of Puerto Rico and the French colonies; in the support for the peoples of Latin America, in their struggle against oligarchic reaction and fascism, and in the first place for the Chilean people, in the support for the struggling peoples of the Pacific Islands.

Our fighting solidarity is most needed at that time of the great acceleration of the history of the African continent engaged in the liberation struggle, and from a vantage point from which we can see the effects of the most recent blows that the African peoples fighting against Portuguese colonialism have dealt against imperialism. It is evident that the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, are imposing their independence on the Portuguese colonialists by the force of arms.

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We are convinced that revolutionary Pan-Africanism will step up in our support for the governments and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who defend their inalienable right to the full exercise of their national sovereignty, the effective control over their natural resources, the nationalization of foreign enterprises to safeguard these resources, and the adoption of the social and economic system they deem most suitable to their development.

Revolutionary Pan-Africanism can now bring to the world revolution and to universal progress its original and prolific contribution.

This is why the urgent needs at the present time can be outlined as being:

1) To put an end to foreign domination in Africa by destroying the bases of the last colonial and racist regimes; because for as long as part of the African continent continues to suffer under the yoke of foreign domination, irresponsibility and indignity, the personality and moral integrity of every man, whether or not of African descent, will be jeopardized.

2) To get rid of regimes in which neo-colonialism still thrives since they hinder the overthrow of the last colonial regimes as well as the achievement of African unity, and in as much as they represent the concrete aspects of imperialist oppression of our peoples.

3) To liquidate the foreign military bases in African States does contribute to the achievement of the political independence and the total liberation of Africa.

4) To consolidate the unity of the peoples of Africa, of African descent and all peoples.

5) To appeal to all the progressive forces in Africa and in the world to give political and material aid to the liberation movements in Africa and outside Africa.

6) The strategy of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism is basically defined in terms of the anti-imperialist anti-colonialist, and anti-neo-colonialist and anti-capitalist struggle that it considers to be a means of promoting

equality, democracy and developing a new society.

a) The people must form the basis of this generalized struggle and the aspirations of the masses and the working classes must constitute the moving force behind it.

b) It must be defined in terms of the class struggle at the national and international level, as the rational basis for explaining and finding solutions to social injustices, exploitation, oppression and racism.

c) It must therefore be revolutionary.

7) Based on the common objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle, Revolutionary Pan-Africanism takes into account the organizational and tactical peculiarities of its various component forces throughout the world, provided the tactics and organization are subordinate to the ultimate aim, namely the destruction of capitalism and its by-products.

8) In 1974 Pan-Africanism aims at the complete restoration by the peoples of their dignity and responsibility, the radical transformation of the whole society, the whole of mankind and the complete development of man as well as the building of socialist societies.

9) Pan-Africanism therefore excludes all racial, tribal, ethnic, religious or national considerations; it embraces the cause of all oppressed peoples of the world and is opposed to all reactionary forces throughout the world.

It considers the people as the foundation of everything, the only legitimate and legal source of Power, of all Powers and Power in its entirety.

In order to transform itself to meet the new requirements of

the new international situation, Pan-Africanism must define its programme of action within the context of the broad perspectives of progress of the masses of the people of all the countries in the world advancing towards a new world, without consideration of skin color or nationality, a world of the triumph of justice over injustice, of equality over inequality, of the responsibility and sovereign power of the peoples over the dictatorship of exploiting minorities, in other words, the world of the redemption of Africa and of all peoples.

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ECONOMIC COMMITTEE REPORT

General Statement

The African world, since the 15th century, has been an organic part of the evolution of the world market economy which has progressed from the mercantilism of the city state through free trade imperialism, at the height of the industrial revolution, to its present stage of monopoly capitalism. A single world social and economic order has created uneven development because the gains from the international division of labour are unevenly distributed. Economic dependency relations and a "culture of dependency" have been institutionalized to operate against the peoples of the Third World.

The 6th Pan-African Congress supports the declaration of the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly with respect to the creation of a new economic order to liberate the African and Third World countries from imperialism. To this end the philosophical foundation of our development strategy should be based on Self-Reliance guided by a progressive ideology, inter-African, Caribbean and Third World Co-operation, democratization of international organizations particularly the financial and Monetary institutions in order to bring about the liberation of our people, at home and in the diaspora and our countries and to control the means of production, distribution and exchange.

The Congress is convinced that Self-Reliance could be promoted by pooling together the resources of the Pan-African and other progressive peoples through Sub-regional and regional alliance leading to Continental and inter-continental Co-operation.

Resolutions:

I. Economic Development Through Self-Reliance

Considering that every man has a right to self-determination, justice and human dignity and respect.

Appendix B

Aware that justice, human dignity and respect cannot obtain in a situation where one man or group of men is being exploited, oppressed and dehumanized by another or is dependent on another.
Aware further that inequality, exploitation, oppression and human injustice and indignity are the products of colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and Zionism.
Desirous of bringing exploitation, oppression, injustice, indignity, and dependence to an end.
Now Therefore this 6th Pan-African Congress assembled in Dar-es-Salaam from the 19th to 27th day of June, 1974 resolves that:

1) In planning their development, the African people should avoid aping the pattern of capitalist development which puts emphasis on growth and the development of "things" rather than on the liberation of man. Development must aim at making the African people self-confident and capable of relying upon themselves.
2) All the African peoples should thus seek to free themselves from colonialism, neo-colonialism, capitalism and imperialism by coordinating their efforts to take full control of their economies and placing the means of production, distribution themselves then ensuring that the surpluses realized there from are fully ploughed back and used to develop the national economies for the benefit of all the people.
3) Since it is the prevalence of multi-national companies and corporations that deprives the Pan-African world and progressive people of their freedom and benefits from their own resources, all the African Governments and peoples and the Third World must denounce and seek total disengagement of their internal economies from monopoly capitalism and its instruments the multi-national corporations.

4) In pursuit of self-reliance, efforts must be made to bring the rural sector into full play with a view to balancing the benefits going to the urban and rural sectors; workers and peasants should determine the production policies and targets of their respective establishments.

5) The pattern of economic development in all African economies and indeed Third World countries should be such as to enable them:
   a) Trade more and more among themselves. To this end, Regional and Sub-Regional Co-operation becomes imperative.
   b) Change the nature of commodities being traded from primary to finished or semi-finished goods which can give them more stable price structures.
   c) Dictate to the developed countries the terms at which their goods are sold.
   d) Make maximum use of local resources - human, financial and material.

6) Foreign "Aid" should *never* be made the basis of development but merely a supplement to the people's own efforts.

7) Developed countries should be asked to write off all past loans to increase the resource capacity of the underdeveloped countries. Developed countries should be made to compensate the developing countries of all the resources they have extracted from them.

II. *Democratization of International Institutions.*

Confronted by the severe economic and financial crisis which sweep across the world and whose consequences are more severely felt by the under developed countries.

Considering the juridical conditions imposed by the capitalist developed countries, within international economic and financial organizations.

Aware of the fact that the judicial structures of international economic and financial agencies are designed to prevent the underdeveloped countries from enjoying the freedom of trade which is one of the legitimate rights of mankind.

Convinced that all countries are sovereign and should establish relations of equality with one another in every sphere particularly in the economic and financial fields.

Having Regard to the undemocratic nature of the U. N. O. Charter inevitably entailing situations which perpetuate injustice within the specialized and other international agencies dealing with economic and financial matters.

Aware of the imperative need for the underdeveloped countries to react against economic imperialism in order to regain their dignity.

The Sixth Pan-African Congress resolves that:

1) The Charter of the UN Organization be re-examined and in particular the membership of the Security Council and the right of veto reserved for the permanent members be removed in order to fairly represent the countries of the Third Word.
2) A study be made of the structures of the International economic, financial and monetary institutions in particular IMF and the World Bank with a view to democratizing them.
3) Appeal to the Organization of African Unity experts and the group of 77 to submit to the next assembly of the UNO technical survey on the democratization of the aforesaid agencies.
4) There is absolute need for the countries of the Third World to come together in dealing with the developed countries in these international financial and political agencies.

III. *Resolution on the Struggle Against Economic Imperialism with Special Reference to Multinational Corporations.*

Having been inspired by the wise counsel of H. E. President Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere of the host country, the United Republic of Tanzania.

Having heard the stirring injunctions of revolutionary brother H. E. President Ahmed Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea, and

Having heard other inspiring messages from other Heads of States.

Having considered at length the economic conditions of the African people throughout Africa and the World.

Convinced that the current domination of African and Caribbean economies by Western imperialism, which is manifest by the multinational corporations of the United States, Canada, Western Europe and Japan must be fought by a Revolutionary Pan-African alliance of forces.

Bearing in mind that political freedom has no meaning for the masses of African people in the absence of a correspondingly full economic freedom.

Aware that economic independence and self-reliance requires the control of the principal material resources located within the territories of African and Caribbean states.

Recognizing that imperialism is a World-wide system and that the struggle against imperialism must therefore be a World-wide struggle.

Aware of the current activities of regional economic organizations and economic Ministries of individual states in Africa and the Caribbean.

1) *Affirms* the solidarity of the Pan-African World with the struggle of the Arab World against the oil monopolies and international imperialism.
2) *Denounces* the architects of the current international division of labour which maintains the system of unequal exchange and exploitation.
3) *Calls* for an end to foreign investment in the colonial racist regimes of Southern Africa and calls on all

African, Caribbean, Arab and other friendly states to impose a total embargo against the fascist regimes of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, as well as selective boycotts of certain multi-national corporations and their respective products.

4) *Affirms* the inalienable right of African and Caribbean states to control the use and disposition of their territorial natural resources including the territorial waters and the air above them, and calls on these states to assert these rights in appropriate international forums so as to obtain a general World recognition of their sovereignty in these matters.

5) *Recommends* the development of concrete programmes of cooperation among the organization of African Trade Union Unity (CATUU), the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), The Caribbean Congress of Labour (CCL), The Arab Trade Union Federation (ATUF), and Pacific Labour Organizations for the purpose of coordinating their use of the weapon of selective strikes and other work sections in the struggle against the multinational corporations.

6) *Recommends* that African regional and sub-regional economic organizations should permit the participation of counterpart organizations in the Caribbean and North America.

7) *Recommends* the establishment of a common currency among African States, or to move towards a general convertibility of currencies to permit free trade among the African and Caribbean countries.

IV. *Economic Organizations in Liberated Areas.*

Bearing in mind Africa's declared aim to liquidate colonialism and racism on the African continent, and, in particular, to achieve national independence for the 50 million oppressed indigenous people in Southern Africa:

Taking note of the work being done by the OAU states in the liberation

of countries that are still dependent; and especially the responsibilities being assumed by some of the committed states on the borders of colonialist and racialist regimes;

Recognizing the hard work done by liberation movements to mobilize and organize their people against foreign, colonial, and oppressive rule; and, especially the work being done to create a new social order in the liberated areas;

The 6th Pan-African Congress *expresses* its support for the efforts of liberation movements to establish new economic organizations and structures along socialist lines;

Fully supports programmes and policies that are intended to serve the interests of the masses of the people living in liberated areas; and warns against the dangers of the re-emergence of primordial tendencies or economic institutions intended to serve the interests of an African petty bourgeoisie at the expense of the people.

Fully supports programmes of political education and mass literacy among the population in liberated areas; and all efforts to improve the health, water systems, and other basic material needs to the brothers and sisters living in these areas.

Endorses the emphasis placed by liberation movements on the total emancipation of women in our society as an integral part of the emancipation of all oppressed people.

Calls on the Pan-African and progressive peoples to express their support and solidarity with people living in liberated areas, by giving them concrete financial and material support to meet all their basic needs of housing, health, education, etc., and to support the new economic organizations established by the people themselves.

Appeals to border states to assist the peoples in the liberated areas, under leadership of their liberation movements, to export their produce, import farm machinery, medicines and other equipment, permit the use of and conversion of their currencies, help print books and pamphlets, and generally assist in making the new social order viable.

V. *Use of African Resources.*

Considering that the continent of Africa is richly endowed with natural resources, especially minerals and oils, fertile soils in certain areas for the production of tropical agricultural products, and large potential for hydro-electric power.

Aware that Africa's richest resource is its human population, the African brothers and sisters who have provided the labour for the white man's farms and industries for several centuries in all continents and that African sweat has been part of the oil and grease of monopoly and international capitalism from the slavery of the fifteenth century to the multinational corporations of today.

Being aware also that in the modern era, the international division of labour is such that African labour continues to subsidize the high wages of workers in industrialized developed countries.

Recognizing that the depletion of African resources by the economic activities of multinational corporations in particular, and capitalist industrialized nations in general with modern mining equipment, massive resources are lifted from the bowels of our continent every day and that Africa's rich mining fields in countries like Gabon, Zaire, Zambia and South Africa, to mention a few, are declining in output, and their life expectancy is reported to be only a few decades.

Noting that the extensive search for new resources in Africa by imperialist countries, while consolidating their hold on the resources they are exploiting already, rich oil fields have been found on the Atlantic seaboard, and extensive exploration is proceeding on the Indian seaboard.

Recalling that the North African countries have won struggle to control their rich oil resources, for example which the Third World should take notes of: The 6th Pan-African Congress,

Calls for solidarity of all producers of raw materials in a union of the poor countries, on the basis of self-reliance in order to increase their own economic power, and control over their own resources;

Demands complete sovereignty by African and Caribbean states over their own natural resources, and that their populations should enjoy the proceeds from these resources without hindrance from the

developed industrialized countries.
Calls on our governments to use our own resources effectively by adopting policies and programmes that ensure that the masses of our people enjoy the surplus generated from our resources, and we strongly condemn the exploitation of man by man internally or internationally.
Calls on African states that are richly endowed with rich natural resources to cooperate with other African countries not so richly endowed with natural resources. The solidarity between African countries should be encouraged in investment and banking, and consideration be given to the financial reserves of African states being withdrawn from international currencies, and pooled in an African Reserve Bank.

VI. *Drought and Famine in Africa.*
The Sixth Pan-African Congress:
Recognizing the disaster and human suffering afflicted on the Sahelian Zone and other African Countries as a result of the drought and famine;
Considering that the drought and famine exemplifies the economic development problems facing Africans everywhere;
Noting that the Sahelian drought and famine is in part due to the fragile ecological balance and temporary or permanent climatic changes;
Stressing the other aspects of the causes responsible for the famine in the area namely the breakdown of indigenous social and economic institutions due to colonization, colonial division of labour, production and distribution and exploitative patterns of development;
Recommends that the following problems be studies as a prelude to solving them in the short and long runs;

1) A study of natural causes of drought inducing climatic changes in the area and ways to control them.
2) A study of ecological patterns of production and how coordination between states can complement and supplement economic organizations in the drought afflicted areas.
3) A study of economic cooperation in the fields of

sharing natural resources to alleviate impediments to economic development arising from lesser endowment of natural resources and access to the sea.

4) Analysis of disorganization of indigenous trading patterns; suffocation and disruption of internal economies resulting from colonialism, and also

5) A study of the effectiveness of relief operations primarily by the O.A.U. and by other international agencies.

6) A study of the problem for which indigenous solutions may be sought to alleviate the present and other African development problems.

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DRAFT
Never reached the floor
of the Congress...

The Position of the North American Left Revolutionary Pan- African Caucus

It is impossible for the North American delegation to the SIXTH PAN- AFRICAN CONGRESS to reach an ideologically unified position on the issues before this historic meeting. Unity comes through struggle. We have not struggled in the U.S. or North America as the SIXTH PAC, around any issue of importance and therefore no one unified line can emerge. As a consequence, the clash of ideologies coming from the internal class struggle as well as uneven political development among the members of the delegation is appearing before us in its rawest and unrefined form.

Other delegations are not plagued with this problem. In general, the representatives of petit-bourgeois oppressive governments whose ideological line is unopposed overtly within their own delegation are unified. Some delegations represent Freedom Fighting Organizations who have achieved a clear unified ideological position as a direct consequence of continued struggle. In, at least, two cases there are two revolutionary ideological positions represented by two different delegations from the same liberation struggle on the floor at the same time. Here we are speaking of the ANC and the PAC both from Azania, and ZANU and ZAPU, both from Zimbabwe.

This position paper and these resolutions, therefore represent the views of the Left Revolutionary Pan-African Caucus within the North American Delegation and are placed before this delegation and before this Congress in an attempt to further clarify and carry forth, in a disciplined and principled manner this continuing and serious

ideological struggle. We welcome those who agree with us to join us. Those who disagree to consolidate, formulate and put forth your own position in this debate. And those who are undecided to study and struggle so that you can develop a concrete and practical understanding of the nature and importance of this type of ideological struggle.

Brief Analytical History of Pan- African Congresses

Prior to the 1945 Fifth Pan-African Congress the articulated strategy of the conveners was to appeal to the good will of white western imperialist rulers of most of the world to grant independence and self-determination to the colonialized African peoples, especially those of continental Africa.

At the 1945 Congress the backward tendency which continued to follow the tactic of appealing to the good will of the imperialist was dominant. The progressives like Padmore, Johnson, and Nkrumah were the minority which challenged them. The old guard led by W.E.B. DuBois was being jammed up by the new more activist leadership. In the sessions of the Congress the new line began to emerge. It advocated going to and organizing the African masses who are most naturally opposed to colonialism because of their objective position within it. That was the nature of the two line struggle at the 1945 Congress. The later tendency was proven by history to have the greatest validity.

The mass movement in Africa and in the diaspora proved to be so powerful during the following decade and a half that the imperialists began to install indigenous petit- bourgeoisie elite leader into power- a freak class which had been pains-takingly cultivated by them for that purpose. Thus, all manner of petit-bourgeois states that further served to bulcanize the continent and certain sections of the diaspora, particularly the Caribbean. They were brought into being, effectively blocking any African unity, so that the imperialists powers could continue the exploitation of the huge Pan-African peasantry along with a less developed working stratum. This was a

tactical holding action against the African masses.

The Organization of African Unity with its non-interference clauses represents the concrete form of the entrenchment of this petit-bourgeoisie throughout most of the continent. Those of us who understand where we are in our movement, the Revolutionary Pan-African Movement, will not allow the Sixth Pan African Congress to become the vehicle of the extension

of the class hegemony of these puppets of world imperialism into the Liberation Struggles and to other regions of the diaspora.

The struggle of these two lines which represents this process unfolding at this Congress is sharpest within the North American delegation. Clearly, the continental petit-bourgeoisie wishes to unite with its counterparts within the Liberation Struggles, the Caribbean and the remainder of the diaspora in order to consolidate its position further within the Pan-African world. There are those among us who would deny the validity of the class struggle within the African world. By such a denial they objectively accept the class hegemony of the Pan-African petit-bourgeoisie and are forced to appeal for limited reforms within that context. Only the most blind would not see that, historically, there were and are those black people working against the interests of the oppressed masses; from the chiefs who sold us into slavery, to the house nigger informer, to the present day neo-colonial African puppet governmental officials and their counterparts in the diaspora. By denying the class you are objectively in league with these same puppets. You want them to do right by the masses while they live like kings. Your line is petit-bourgeois reformism. We categorically reject that line.

We are saying that the revolutionary organization of the African masses who are workers and peasants for the overthrow of the neo-colonial vestiges of imperialism within continental Africa and in the non-metropolitan diaspora is the only way African unity through socialist revolution can be achieved. As part of this process we see the independent organization of the masses of African workers within the metropoles for the purpose of the overthrow of capitalism at its imperialist stage within the developed nation-states of its origin.

That is our historic task. That is our line.

In the United States in this historical period when we refer to the African masses we are referring to the huge urbanized industrial and service African worker sector of our population.

The Position of African Workers in the U.S. Within the Context of the Pan-African World

As Africans were being brought to the Americas for the specific purpose of the exploitation of their labor power within the context of the slave plantation mode of production, racism pushed itself into the superstructure that aroused to justify the savage rule of a backward plantocracy economically linked with a rising european bourgeoisie. The African laboring masses were oppressed in that manner so that this particular type of exploitation could be maintained. It lasted for 400 years. Without a doubt the commodities produced by African slave labor were essential to the creation and transformation of world markets.

After the overthrow of the rule of the white slave owning class within the United States and the consolidation of the rule of the northern industrial capitalists, the position of the African people moved from that of chattel to sharecropper and peon. Thus the exploitation of African labor came to be carried out more efficiently in this new form.

The rise of the european bourgeoisie along with the affirmation of capitalist state power in Japan coincided with this period in American history. Euro-American capitalism finds its origin in the Atlantic Slave Trade and the exploitation of African slave labor in the Americas. There too the origin of fascism can be found. As capitalism reached its imperialistic stage of development within the economic base the consolidation of racism within the world wide capitalist superstructure- taking the form of national chauvanism which buttresses it- was concretely affirmed.

As the imperatives of laizze faire capitalism became the imperatives of imperialism the position of African labor change once again. Huge quantities of African labor was siphoned off the land in the southeast U.S. and transformed from rural sharecroppers and peons into

wage laborers within the urban centers of both the north and southern parts of the country. Within the urban centers of Canada Caribbean labor was becoming urbanized in the same manner and in a larger sense African labor was placed and transfixed at the centers of production in the metropoles of this planet. That is the position that they occupy this day. We are essentially and fundamentally a laboring people.

It is therefore, our responsibility to speak to the world for this vantage point. We therefore wish to enter the following resolutions into the proceedings of this Congress:

Whereas the U.S. imperialists attempted to use their puppets in Vietnam to continue a deadly war victimizing tens of thousands of people on both sides, but especially the Vietnamese people;

Be it resolved that the Sixth Pan African Congress go on record condemning neo-colonialism in Vietnam and express solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their struggle for freedom and total independence.

Whereas the U.S. imperialists continues to frustrate the struggle of the people of Cambodia in the desire for freedom and independence;

Be it resolved that the Sixth Pan-African Congress records its unified support for the freedom of the people of Cambodia.

Whereas the Palestinian people have been illegally dispersed by western imperialist powers in an attempt to further balkanise Africa;

Whereas the Palestinian People are at the forefront of the struggle against Zionism, the same Zionism that motivated the Boer trekkers in their quest to take African land;

Whereas Zionism is supported by imperialism, especially American imperialism;

Whereas the struggle of the Palestinian people is part of the struggle

of oppressed people all over the world;

Now be it resolved that the Sixth Pan- African Congress go on record standing in militant solidarity with the Palestinian people against American Imperialism and Zionist sub-imperialism.

Members of the Caucus:

Horace Campbell
Malik Chaka
Modibo Kadalie
John Mendez
June Ward

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